

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

VOL. VI. OF THE SERIES

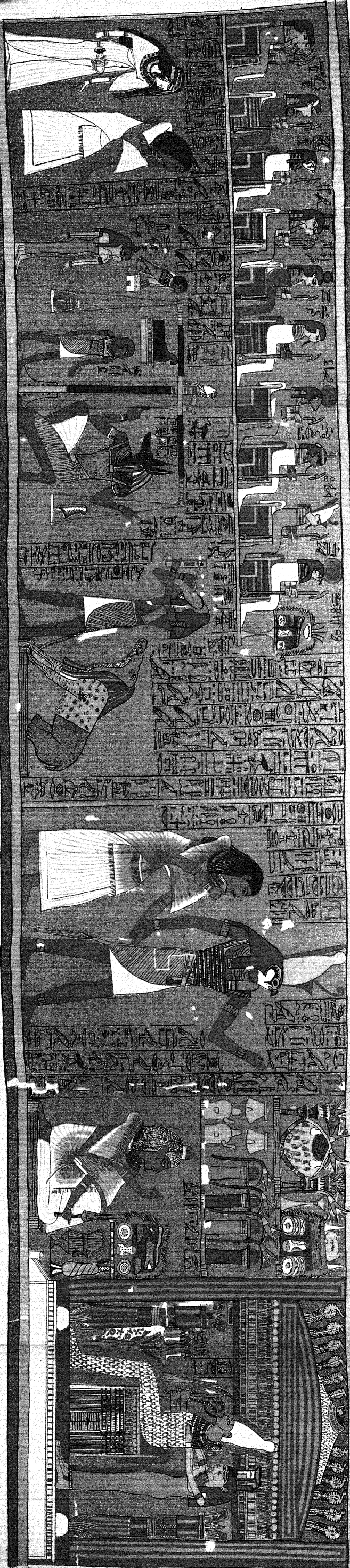
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTERS I.—XV.

SA. HU. HATHOR. HORUS. ISIS & NEPHTHYS. NUT. SEB. TEFNUT. SHU. TEMU. RA-HARMACHIS.



ANI and his wife Tawert entering the Hall of Judgment. Remenet and Mes-Ani's soul. Ani's embryo. Ani's Luck or destiny. Anubis testing the tongue of the balance. Thoth recording the result of the weighing. The devourer of the unjustified. Horus introducing Ani into the presence of Osiris. Ani, justified, kneeling before Osiris. Osiris throned within a shrine. Behind him are Isis and Nephthys, and before him, upon a lotus, stand the "Children of Horus".

May 11 - 1977

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

THE
BOOK OF THE DEAD

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTERS,
HYMNS, ETC., OF THE THEBAN RECENSION,
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

28184

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

SECOND EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED

WITH TWENTY-TWO PLATES AND FOUR HUNDRED
AND TWENTY VIGNETTES

VOL. I.—INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTERS I.—XV.

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THE translations of the Egyptian hymns and religious texts printed in this and the two following volumes form a representative collection of the various compositions which the Egyptians inscribed upon the walls of tombs and sarcophagi, coffins and funeral stelae, papyri and amulets, etc., in order to ensure the well-being of their dead in the world beyond the grave. They have been translated from papyri and other documents which were found chiefly at Thebes, and, taken together, they are generally known as the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, that is to say, the Recension of the great national funeral work which was copied by the scribes for themselves and for Egyptian kings and queens, princes and nobles, gentle and simple, rich and poor, from about B.C. 1600 to B.C. 900. These translations first appeared in the third volume of my work on the Book of the Dead, which was published under the title of "The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," at the end of the year 1897, where they seemed to be a necessary accompaniment to the edition of the hieroglyphic texts of the Theban Recension and the

*
hieroglyphic vocabulary thereto. The demand for that bulky and comparatively expensive work proved that it filled a want, but soon after its appearance frequent requests were made that the English translation might be issued in a smaller and handier form. In answer to these requests, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co. decided to publish the complete English translation of the Book of the Dead in their series of books on Egypt and Chaldaea, together with such introductory matter, index, etc., as are necessary to make this edition of use to the general reader.

The translation given in the present series is, however, no mere reprint, for it has been carefully revised and compared with the original texts, and many brief explanatory notes have been added; and, with the view of placing in the hands of the reader as complete an edition as possible, more than four hundred vignettes, taken from the best papyri, have been reproduced in the volumes of the present edition at the heads of the Chapters, the general contents of which the ancient Egyptian scribes and artists intended them to illustrate. The greater number of these have been specially drawn or traced for this purpose, and they faithfully represent the originals in form and outline; to reproduce the colours of the originals was out of the question, for the cost of coloured illustrations would have placed this book beyond the reach of the general public.

Many of the ideas and beliefs embodied in the texts here translated are coeval with Egyptian civilization,

and the actual forms of some of the most interesting of these are identical with those which we now know to have existed in the Vth and VIth Dynasties, about B.C. 3500. On the other hand, many of them date from the pre-dynastic period, and, in the chapter on the History of the Book of the Dead, which forms part of the Introduction to the present edition, an attempt has been made to show how some of the religious views of the north-east African race, which formed the main indigenous substratum of the dynastic Egyptians, found their way into the Book of the Dead and maintained their position there.

The greater number of the translations here given belong to the group to which the Egyptians gave the name, "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," and the remainder are introductory hymns, supplementary extracts from ancient cognate works, rubrics, etc., which were intended to be used as words of power by the deceased in the underworld. The papyri and other originals which have been selected as authorities are the best now known, and they have been chosen with the view of illustrating the development of the Theban Recension and the changes which took place in it during the various periods of its history. Since no papyrus contains all the Chapters and Vignettes of this Recension, and no two papyri agree either in respect of contents or arrangement of the Chapters, and the critical value of every text in a papyrus is not always the same, it follows that a complete edition of

all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension would be impossible unless recourse were had to several papyri. Since the year 1886, in which M. Naville's *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter* appeared, several extremely important papyri of the Book of the Dead have been discovered, and it is now possible to add considerably to the number of Chapters of the Theban Recension which he published. Thus the Papyrus of Ani supplies us with Introductions to Chapters XVIII. and CXXV., and hymns to Rā and Osiris, and texts referring to the Judgment Scene, and all of these are new; besides, we gain a complete, though short, version of Chapter CLXXV. And from the Papyrus of Nu, which is the oldest of the illuminated papyri known, we have obtained about twenty Chapters of the Theban Recension, which were unknown until 1897, and several which have, up to the present, been only known to exist in single manuscripts. Use has therefore been made of several papyri, and as a result translations of about one hundred and sixty Chapters, not including different versions, Hymns, and Rubrics, are given in the present edition. Translation of sixteen Chapters of the Saïte Recension have also been added, both because they form good specimens of the religious compositions of the later period of Egyptian history, and illustrate some curious beliefs, and because, having adopted the numbering of the Chapters employed by Lepsius, they were needed to make the numbering of the Chapters in this edition consecutive.

The translation has been made as literal as possible, my aim being to let the reader judge the contents of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead for himself; the notes are short, and it was thought to be unnecessary to encumber the pages of a book which is intended for popular use with voluminous disquisitions and references. The reader who needs to consult other works on the subject will find a tolerably full Bibliography to the printed literature of the Book of the Dead in my *Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1895, pp. 371 ff.

It has been the fashion during the last few years among certain writers on Egyptology to decry the Book of the Dead, and to announce as a great discovery that the hieroglyphic and hieratic texts thereof are corrupt; but that several passages of the work are hopelessly corrupt has been well known to Egyptologists for the last fifty years, and they have never concealed the fact that they could not translate them. Moreover, the Egyptian scribes informed their readers by the frequent use of the words "ki tchet," i.e., "otherwise said," that they themselves did not know which variants represented the correct readings, and recent investigations have proved that the scribes and sages of the XIXth Dynasty had as much difficulty as we have in reading certain hieratic signs which were written during the Early Empire, and were as undecided as we are about the true transcription of them. The text of every great national religious composition which is handed down first by oral tradition, and secondly by copies

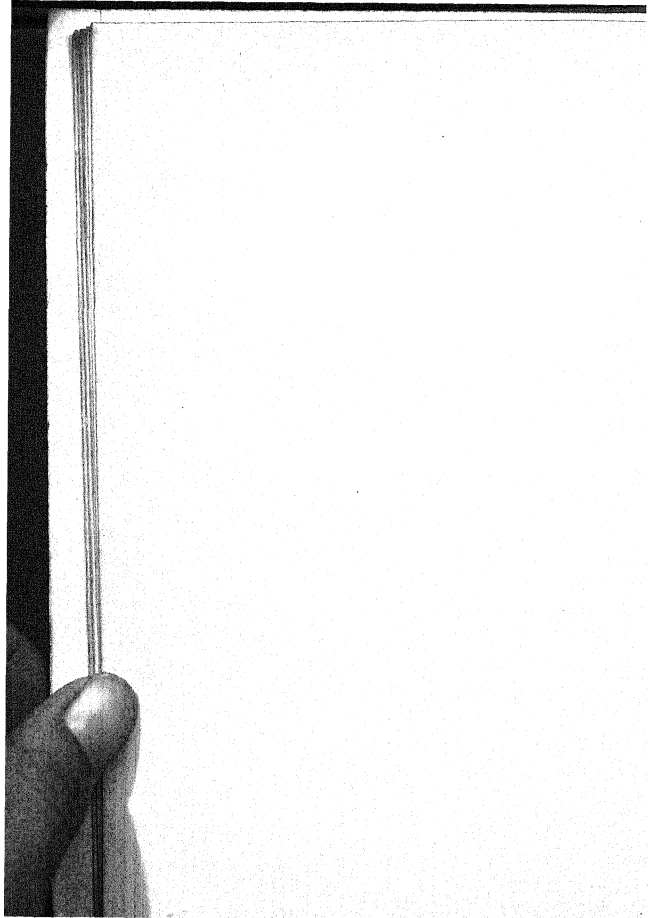
which are multiplied by professional scribes and others, is bound to become corrupt in places; this result is due partly to carelessness of the copyists, and partly to their inability to understand the allusions and the obscure words which occur in them. But the history of the religious literatures of the world shows that when a series of compositions has once attained to the position of a recognized national religious work, the corruptions in the text thereof do not in any way affect the minds of their orthodox readers in the general credibility of the passages in which they occur. And the Book of the Dead forms no exception to this rule, for the work, which was very old even in the reign of Senti, a king of the First Dynasty, and was, moreover, so long at that time as to need abbreviation, was copied and re-copied, and added to by one generation after another for a period of nearly 5000 years; and the pious Egyptian, whether king or ploughman, queen or maid-servant, lived with the teaching of the Book of the Dead before his eyes, and he was buried according to its directions, and he based his hope of everlasting life and happiness upon the efficacy of its hymns and prayers, and words of power. By him its Chapters were not regarded as materials for grammatical exercises, but as all-powerful guides along the road which, passing through death and the grave, led into the realms of light and life, and into the presence of the divine being Osiris, the conqueror of death, who made men and women "to be born again." The more the Book of

the Dead is read and examined, the better chance there is of its difficult allusions being explained, and its dark passages made clear, and this much to be desired result can only be brought about by the study, and not by the neglect, of its texts.

In the introduction to the present translation Chapters are added on the literary history of the Book of the Dead, on the doctrines of Osiris, and of the Judgment and Resurrection, and on the Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead. The limits, however, of this work make it impossible to include within it the chapter on the Magic of the Book of the Dead which appeared in the edition of 1897. The renderings of the funeral texts written for Nesi-Khensu, Kērāsher, and Takhert-p-uru-ābt, and the Book of Breathings, the Book of Traversing Eternity, &c., appended to the third volume will, it is hoped, enable the reader to make a comparison of the beliefs of the Egyptians in the early and later periods of their history.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
August 6th, 1909.



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whole collection of compositions does certainly refer to the dead and to what happens to the dead in the world beyond the grave.

Of the home and origin also of the Book of the Dead but little can be said. Now that so many of the pre-dynastic graves of Egypt have been excavated, and their contents have been so fully described and discussed, we find no evidence forthcoming that would justify us in assuming that the aboriginal inhabitants of the country possessed any collection of religious texts which might be regarded as the original work from which, by interpolations and additions, the Recensions of the Book of the Dead now known could have descended, or even that they made use of any collection of religious texts at the burial of the dead. That there are references in the various Recensions to the funeral customs of the aborigines of Egypt is fairly certain, and it is evident from the uniform manner in which the dead were laid in their graves in the earliest pre-dynastic times that the aborigines possessed tolerably well defined general ideas about the future life, but we cannot regard them as the authors even of the earliest Recension of the Book of the Dead, because that work presupposes the existence of ideas which the aborigines did not possess, and refers to an elaborate system of sepulture which they never practised. Whether we regard the aborigines of Egypt as of Libyan origin or not it is certain that they employed a system of sepulture which, in its earliest forms, was

quite different from that in use among their latest pre-dynastic and their earliest dynastic descendants. If the known facts be examined it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that many of the *beliefs* found in the Book of the Dead were either voluntarily borrowed from some nation without, or were introduced into Egypt by some conquering immigrants who made their way into the country from Asia, either by way of the Red Sea or across the Arabian peninsula; that they were brought into Egypt by new-comers seems most probable. Who those new-comers were or where they came from cannot be definitely said at present, but there are good grounds for thinking that they first adopted certain of the general customs which they found in use among the dwellers on the Nile, and then modified them, either to suit the religious texts with which they were acquainted, or their own individual views which they evolved after they had arrived in Egypt. The excavation of pre-dynastic cemeteries in Egypt has revealed the fact that its aboriginal or pre-dynastic inhabitants disposed of their dead by burial and by burning; the bodies which were buried were either dismembered or cut up into a considerable number of pieces, or buried whole. Bodies buried whole were laid on their left sides with their heads to the south, and were sometimes laid in the skins of gazelles and sometimes in grass mats; no attempt was made to mummify them in the strict sense of the term. This seems to be the oldest method of burial in

the Nile Valley. The dismembering or cutting up of the body into a number of pieces was due probably both to a wish to economize space, and to prevent the spirit of the deceased from returning to his old village ; in such cases the head is separated from the body, and the limbs are laid close together. Chronologically, the disposal of the dead by burning comes next ; usually the bodies were only partially burnt, and afterwards the skull and the bones were thrown into a comparatively shallow pit, care being, however, taken to keep those of the hands and feet together. Speaking generally, these two classes of burials are well defined, and the cemeteries in which each class is found are usually quite separate and distinct, lying ordinarily some distance apart. Whether we are to distinguish two distinct peoples in those who buried the bodies of their dead whole, and in those who burnt them first and buried their remains, it is almost too early to decide, but there is abundant evidence to show that both of these classes of the inhabitants of Egypt had many funeral customs in common. They both used covered pits for tombs, both buried their dead in the valleys, both oriented the dead in the same direction, and both made funeral offerings to the dead. The offerings prove beyond all doubt that both those who buried and those who burnt their dead held definite views about the future life, and these can hardly have existed in their minds without some perception, however dim, of a divine power being there also. It is idle to speculate on the nature of

such a perception with our present limited knowledge, but it must not be forgotten that the widespread custom of burying the dead with the head to the south, and the presence of funeral offerings, indicate the existence of religious convictions which are not of a low order, and are not common among savage or semi-barbarous tribes.

It has been said above that the people who buried their dead whole made no attempt to mummify the bodies in the strict sense of the term, still, as Dr. Fouquet found traces of bitumen in some of the skeletons to which he devoted an exhaustive examination, and as many bodies have been found wrapped in skins of animals, and grass mats, and even rough cloths, we may rightly assume that they would have taken far more elaborate precautions to preserve their dead had they possessed the necessary knowledge. These early inhabitants of Egypt embalmed their dead either because they wished to keep their material bodies with them upon earth, or because they believed that the future welfare of the departed depended in some way upon the preservation of the bodies which they had left behind them upon earth. Whatever the motive, it is quite certain that it must have been a very powerful one, for the custom of preserving the dead by one means or another lasted in Egypt without a break from the earliest pre-dynastic times almost down to the conquest of the country by the Arabs, about A.D. 640.

Meanwhile, however, we may note that the graves of those who were buried whole, and of those who were burnt, or dismembered, contain no inscriptions, and it is evident that the habit of writing religious texts upon the objects laid in the tombs, a habit which became universal in the times of the historical Egyptians, was not yet in existence. Still, it is impossible to think that people who evidently believed in a future life, and who tried to preserve the bodies of their dead from religious motives, would bury their beloved friends and relatives without uttering some pious wish for their welfare in the world beyond the grave, or causing the priest of the community to recite some magical charm or formula, or repeat certain incantations, which had been composed for such occasions, on their behalf. It is more than probable that, if prayers or formulae were recited at the time of burial, the recital was accompanied by the performance of certain ceremonies, which must have partaken of a magical character; both prayers and ceremonies must have been traditional, and were, no doubt, primarily designed to protect the dead from the attacks of wild animals, damp-rot, dry-rot, and decay. Now although we may not regard a collection of such funeral prayers, however large, as the earliest Recension of the Book of the Dead, there is little doubt that many of the formulae found in the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead, which was in use during the IVth and Vth Dynasties, date from a very early pre-dynastic period, and that they are

as old as, or older than, the civilization of the historic Egyptians and their immediate predecessors. Such formulæ are directed against snakes and scorpions, and other noxious reptiles, and the forms in which they were written by the scribes about B.C. 3500, and the mistakes which occur in them, prove that the copyists were dealing with texts that were at that remote time so old as to be unintelligible in many passages, and that they copied many of them without understanding them. In any case such formulæ date from a period when the banks of the Nile were overrun by wild beasts, and when they formed the home of creatures of all kinds which were hostile to man, and which the early dwellers on the Nile sought to cajole or frighten away from their dead; indeed, there is little doubt that before the forests which lined the river banks were cut down for fuel Egypt must have resembled in many respects certain sections of the Nile Valley much further south, and that river monsters of all kinds, and amphibious beasts which are only now to be found on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile and near the Great Lakes, lived happily in the neighbourhood of Memphis, and even farther to the north.

Towards the close of the period when the bodies of the dead were burnt, or dismembered, the objects found in the graves vary in character considerably from those which occur in the graves wherein the bodies are buried whole, and whereas in the older graves weapons of flint occur in abundance, and stone jars and vases

are rare, in the later flint weapons are the exceptions, the hard stone vases become more numerous, and objects in metal are found in comparative abundance. To what cause these changes are due cannot exactly be said, but the presence of bronze and other metal objects most probably indicates the appearance of some foreign influence in the Valley of the Nile, and that that influence proceeded from immigrants is tolerably certain. Whether these immigrants belonged remotely to a Semitic stock, or whether they were descendants of a people akin to the nation which is now by common consent called Sumerian, are questions impossible to answer at present; for, while the presence in the earliest hieroglyphic inscriptions of grammatical usages, and verbal forms, and idioms, and pronouns which are certainly identical with many of those in use in all the Semitic dialects indicates Semitic influence, or kinship with Semitic peoples to a considerable degree, the religious beliefs of the pre-dynastic and early dynastic Egyptians have few parallels with those of the Semitic peoples of antiquity known to us. But, whether the immigrants were of Semitic origin or not, they seem to have come originally from the East, and, whether by force of arms or otherwise, they certainly effected a permanent settlement in the Nile Valley; a people armed with metal weapons conquered those who relied upon weapons of flint and stone, and having made themselves masters of the country these men ruled it according to their own ideas and methods, as far as its

climate and natural conditions permitted. Conquest was followed by intermarriage, which was an absolute necessity if the immigrants came from the East and wished their descendants to abide in the land, and thus it comes to pass that the historic Egyptians are the descendants of an indigenous north-east African people, and of immigrants from the East, who having settled in Egypt were gradually absorbed into the native populations. It is easy to see that the debt which the indigenous peoples of Egypt owed to the new-comers from the East is very considerable, for they learned from them the art of working in metals (although they continued to make use of flint weapons, i.e., knives, axe-heads, spear-heads, arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., without a break down to the time of the dynastic Egyptians), and the art of writing. M. de Morgan declares that the knowledge of [working in] bronze is of Asiatic origin, and he thinks that the art of brick-making was introduced into Egypt from Mesopotamia, where it was, as we learn from the ruins of early Sumerian cities, extensively practised, with many other things which he duly specifies.¹

With the art of writing the new-comers in Egypt undoubtedly brought certain religious beliefs, and funeral customs, and literature, and gradually the system of burial which was universal in Egypt up to the time of their arrival in the country became completely changed.

¹ *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 21 ff.

The covered pits and troughs which served for graves, and which were dug almost anywhere on the banks of the river, were replaced by crude brick buildings containing one or more chambers; graves were no longer dug in the valley but in the hill sides; dead bodies were neither burnt nor dismembered, and the head was not separated from the body; bandages systematically wound round the body took the place of skins of animals and grass mats and rough cloth wrappings; and dead bodies were laid on their backs in coffins, instead of being bent up and laid on their side on the ground. The change in the character of the offerings and other objects found in the graves at this period was no less marked, for pottery made on a wheel took the place of that made by hand, and maces and more formidable weapons appeared, together with a large number of various kinds of amulets of a new class. It is, unfortunately, impossible to assign a date to this period of change, and it cannot be said how long it lasted, but it is certain that at this time both the indigenous peoples and the new-comers modified their burial customs, and that the foundations of the sepulchral customs and of the system of mummification which were universal among the historical Egyptians were then laid. The indigenous peoples readily saw the advantage of brick-built tombs and of the other improvements which were introduced by the new-comers, and gradually adopted them, especially as they tended to the preservation of the natural body, and

were beneficial for the welfare of the soul ; but the changes introduced by the new-comers were of a radical character, and the adoption of them by the indigenous peoples of Egypt indicates a complete change in what may be described as the fundamentals of their belief. In fact they abandoned not only the custom of dismembering and burning the body, but the half savage views and beliefs which led them to do such things also, and little by little they put in their place the doctrine of the resurrection of man, which was in turn based upon the belief that the god-man and king Osiris had suffered death and mutilation, and had been embalmed, and that his sisters Isis and Nephthys had provided him with a series of amulets which protected him from all harm in the world beyond the grave, and had recited a series of magical formulae which gave him everlasting life ; in other words, they embraced the most important of all the beliefs which are found in the Book of the Dead. The period of this change is, in the writer's opinion, the period of the introduction into Egypt of many of the religious and funeral compositions which are now known by the name of "Book of the Dead." Whether the primitive form of the doctrine of Osiris included the view that his body was hacked to pieces after death and his head severed from it is not known, but it is quite certain that many influential people in Egypt objected to the decapitation of the dead, and their objection found expression in the XLIIIrd Chapter of the Book of the Dead, which,

according to its title, provides expressly that "the head of a man shall not be cut off in the underworld." The text of this remarkable Chapter is of great interest; and reads, "I am the Great One, the son of the Great One; I am Fire, the son of Fire, to whom was given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not taken away from him, let not the head of (*here follows the name of the deceased, who is also called Osiris*) be taken away from him. I have knit myself together; I have made myself whole and complete; I have renewed my youth; I am Osiris, the lord of eternity." The title of this Chapter is definite enough, but the text seems to indicate that for a man to be certain of possession of his head in the next world it was necessary to have it first removed from his body after death, and then rejoined to it. The historic Egyptians seem to have abandoned any such belief, however, and there is no doubt that they viewed with dismay any mutilation of the body, although they preserved in their religious texts frequent allusions to the collecting of the members of the body, and the gathering together of the bones. The LXIIIrd Chapter, which existed in two versions in the XVIIIth Dynasty, also seems to allude to certain funeral practices of the pre-dynastic Egyptians, for one version was written to protect a man from being burnt in the underworld, and the other to prevent him from being scalded or boiled. In historic times the Egyptians neither burned nor scalded

nor boiled their dead, but we have seen above that the pre-dynastic Egyptians partly burned their dead, and it is probable that they often removed the flesh from the bones of the dead by boiling as well as by scraping them. There are numerous passages in the various Chapters of the Book of the Dead which seem to contain allusions to pre-dynastic funeral customs, and many of the Chapters refer to natural conditions of the country which can only have obtained during the period that preceded the advent of the immigrants from the East. It is clear that those who introduced the Book of the Dead into Egypt claimed to be able to protect the dead body from calamities of every kind, either by means of magical names, or words, or ceremonies, and that the indigenous peoples of the country accepted their professions and adopted many of their funeral customs, together with the beliefs which had produced them. They never succeeded wholly in inducing them to give up many of their crude notions and fantastic beliefs and imageries, and more and more we see in all ages the ideas and notions of the semi-barbarous, North African, element in the Book of the Dead contending for recognition with the superior and highly moral and spiritual beliefs which it owed to the presence of the Asiatic element in Egypt. The Chapters of the Book of the Dead are a mirror in which are reflected most of the beliefs of the various races which went to build up the Egyptian of history, and to this fact is due the difficulty of framing a connected

and logical account of what the Egyptians believed at any given period in their history. But there is reason for hoping that, as the texts become more studied, and more information and facts concerning the pre-dynastic peoples of Egypt become available, it will be possible to sift such beliefs and to classify them according to their source.

To assign a date to the period when the Book of the Dead was introduced into Egypt is impossible, but it is certain that it was well known in that country before the kings of the Ist Dynasty began to rule over the country. In the first instance the prayers and petitions, which in later days were grouped and classified into Chapters, were comparatively simple, and probably few in number, and their subject matter was in keeping with the conditions under which the dead were buried in the home of those who brought them into Egypt. At first also they were recited from memory, and not from written copies, and they were, no doubt, preserved by oral tradition for a very long time. Meanwhile the prayers, and petitions, and formulae increased in number and in length, and were in other particulars made applicable to the conditions under which men were buried in Egypt, and at length they were done into writing; but this only took place when the priests began to be in doubt about the meaning of their contents, and when they found that certain of them were becoming forgotten. It is scarcely likely that at that remote period any effective supervision of the

accuracy of the written copies by a central authority was attempted, and though the copyists in their copies adhered in the main to the versions of the prayers, etc., which they had received, variations, additions, and mistakes, that were often due to the misreading of the characters, soon crept into them. Experience has shown that it is extremely difficult to preserve, even in these days of printing and stereotype, the text of a work in an accurate and genuine state, and when copies of a text have to be multiplied by hand the difficulty is increased a thousand-fold. For, besides the mistakes due to the carelessness and ignorance, and to the fatigue of the eye and the hand of the copyist, there remain to be considered the additions and interpolations which are always made by the scribe who wishes the text he is copying to represent his own views. It was such tendencies as these on the part of scribes and copyists which made it necessary for Talmudic sages to resort to the means of "casuistic exegesis" for the preservation not of the original text of the Hebrew Bible but even of that text which had become authoritative in their time; and it is a well known fact that, within a few years after the death of Muḥammad the Prophet the notables of the Muḥammadan world were alarmed at the variations which had already crept into the Suras of the Qur'ān, and that one of them warned¹ his master to "stop the

¹ See Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, pp. xx., xxi.

people, before they should differ regarding their Scripture, as did the Jews and Christians!" In this case the variant readings of a national religious book, which was held to be of divine origin, were disposed of in a most effectual manner, for, as soon as the four authorities who had been appointed to make a final recension of the Arabic text began work, they collected copies of the *Kur'ân* from all parts of the Muhammadan dominions, and having decided what readings were to be retained, they burnt all the manuscripts containing those which they rejected. It seems almost a pity that some such drastic method was not employed in the formation of a *textus receptus* of the Book of the Dead.

The graves of the pre-dynastic dwellers in Egypt contain no religious inscriptions, and it is not until we come to the time of the dynastic Egyptians that the tombs afford much evidence of the existence of the Book of the Dead; it is, however, certain that parts of the Book of the Dead were in general use before the period of the rule of the kings of the Ist Dynasty. The numerous tombs of priestly officials, and the inscriptions in them, testify that the men for whom they were made performed during their lifetime offices in connexion with the burial of the dead, such as the reading of texts and the performance of ceremonies, which we know from the rubrics of the recensions of the Book of the Dead of a later period were regarded by the Egyptians as essential for salvation; now if the official lived and read the texts and performed the

ceremonies of the Book of the Dead, that work must certainly have existed in one form or another, for priests were not appointed to read religious books which did not exist. The Egyptians themselves have not left behind any very definite statement as to their belief about the existence of the Book of the Dead in pre-dynastic times, but they had no hesitation in asserting that certain parts of it were as old as the Ist Dynasty, as we may see from the following facts. The oldest copy of the Book of the Dead now known to exist on papyrus is that which was written for Nu, the son of "the overseer of the house of the overseer of the seal, Amen-hotep, and of the lady of the house, Senseneb;" this extremely valuable document cannot be of later date than the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty.¹ Of the Sixty-fourth Chapter it gives two versions, one much longer than the other, and to each version is appended a rubric which assigns a date to the text which it follows; the rubric of the shorter version declares that the "Chapter was found in the foundations of the shrine of Hennu by the chief mason during the reign of his Majesty, the king of the South and North, Senti" (or, Hesepti), and that of the longer version that it "was found in the city of Khemennu (Hermopolis, the city of Thoth) upon a block of iron of the south, which had been inlaid [with

¹ The complete text, edited by myself, is published in *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher, and Netchemet, with supplementary text from the Papyrus of Nu*. Published by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, London, fol. 1899.

"letters] of real lapis-lazuli, under the feet of the god
 "(i.e. Thoth) during the reign of his Majesty, the king
 "of the South and North, Men-kau-Rā (i.e. Mycerinus),
 "by the royal son Heru-tā-tā-f." Here then we have
 two statements, one of which ascribes the "finding" of
 the Chapter to the time of the Ist Dynasty, and the
 other to the IVth Dynasty; and it is probable that
 both statements are correct, for it is clear that the
 longer version, which is ascribed to the IVth Dynasty,
 is much longer than that which is ascribed to the Ist
 Dynasty, and it is evident that it is an amplified
 version of the shorter form of the Chapter. The
 meaning of the word "found" in connexion with the
 Chapter is not quite clear, but it is probable that it
 does not mean "discovery" only, and that the perform-
 ance of some literary work on the text, such as revision
 or editing, is intended. The mention of king Senti in
 the rubric to the shorter version of the Chapter is of



Ten, the
 Horus name
 of Senti.

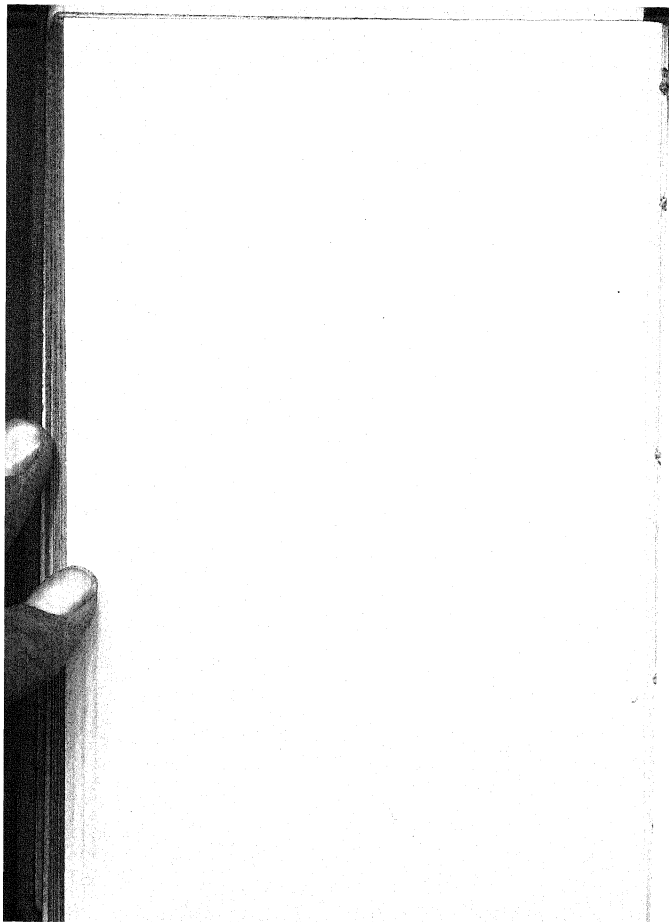
interest, especially when we consider the re-
 presentations which are found upon the ebony
 tablet of the royal chancellor Hemaka;¹ this
 tablet appears to have been dedicated to the
 honour of Senti, for his Horus name Ten
 appears upon it side by side with that of
 his royal chancellor Hemaka. To the right
 of the name is a scene in which we see the god Osiris,
 wearing the white crown, and seated in a shrine set


¹ See Third Egyptian Room, British Museum, Table-case L,

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE VITH DYNASTY.



Text from the Pyramid of Unas (lines 490-505).



upon the top of a short flight of steps; before him is a figure of king Senti, who is dancing away out of the presence of the god, and he wears the crowns of the South and North on his head, and holds in one hand the object , and in the other a staff or paddle. That the god in the shrine is Osiris is beyond doubt, for he occupies the position at the top of the staircase which in later days gained for Osiris the title of "the 'god at the top of the staircase;'"¹ on sarcophagi and elsewhere pictures are sometimes given of the god sitting on the top of the staircase.² Other examples are known of kings dancing before their god with a view of pleasing him, e.g., Usertsen danced before the god Ámsu or Min, and Seti I. danced before Sekhet, and the reference in the text of Pepi I.³ to the king dancing before the god, i.e., Osiris, like the reference to the pigmy, proves that the custom was common in Egypt in early dynastic times; that the custom was not confined to Egypt is certain from the passage in the Bible (2 Samuel vi. 14, ff.), where we are told that David danced before the ark of the Lord. Below the dancing scene on the tablet are a number of hieroglyphics, the meaning of which is very doubtful, but in the left hand corner is one which must represent the boat of Hennu, and as we are told that the earliest

¹ Compare "May I, Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant, have a portion with him who is on the top of the staircase," Book of the Dead, xxii. 6, 7.

² See my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. ii., p. 159.

³ See *Recueil de Travaux*, vii. 162, 163.

form of the LXIVth Chapter was found in the foundations of the shrine of Henu, it seems as if king Senti was in some way specially attached to the service of this god, or to the performance of ceremonies in which the boat of Henu was a prominent feature; it must also be noted that the figure of Osiris seated in his shrine on the top of a short staircase is the oldest representation of the god which we have. From the fact that the chancellor Hemaka depicts the dancing scene on the tablet, and also the boat of Henu, we may assume that the king's connexion both with the god and with the boat was of such a special nature that the loyal servant, regarding it as one of the most important features of the king's life, determined to keep it in remembrance. There remains another point to notice about the LXIVth Chapter. The version of it to which the name of Senti is attached is entitled, "The Chapter of Knowing the Chapters of Coming Forth [by Day] in a single Chapter." Now, we have said above that the Egyptians called the Chapters of the Book of the Dead the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," and judging from the title it would seem that as early as Senti's time these Chapters had become so numerous that it was all-important to compose, or edit one of the Chapters which then existed, in such a way that it should contain all the knowledge necessary to the dead for their salvation; if this view be correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, we have here an extraordinary proof of the antiquity of certain parts of

the Book of the Dead. The contents of the LXIVth Chapter are of a remarkable nature, and there is no doubt that in all periods of Egyptian history it was believed to contain the essence of the Book of the Dead, and to be equal in value to all its other Chapters, and to have a protective power over the dead which was not less than that of all the other Chapters taken together. That some important event in the history of the Book of the Dead happened during the reign of Senti is certain, and that this event had a connexion with the doctrine and worship of Osiris is certain from the representation of the god and of the boat of Henu, which are given on the contemporaneous tablet of Senti's chancellor Hemaka.

Of the history of the Book of the Dead during the IInd, IIIrd, and IVth Dynasties we know nothing, and no copy of any part of the Recension of it then in use has come down to us. During the reign of Men-kau-Rā (Mycerinus), a king of the IVth Dynasty, it is said that Chapters XXXB., LXIV., and CXLVIII. were "found" by Hēru-tā-tā-f, the son of Khufu, a man to whom in later ages the possession of great learning was ascribed, and it is very probable that, like King Senti, he revised or edited the Chapters to which his name is attached in rubrics; for the numerous funeral inscriptions of the period prove that at that time a Recension of the Book of the Dead was in general use.

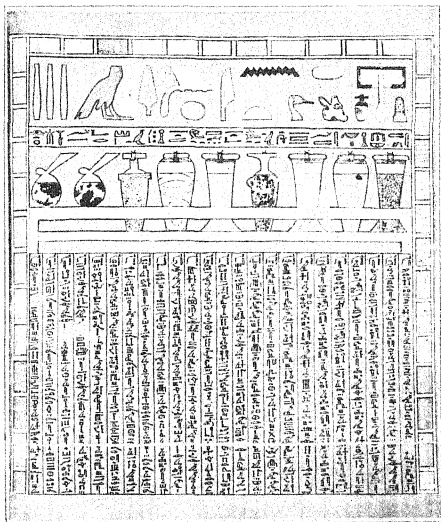
During the period of the Vth and VIth Dynasties a great development took place in the funeral ceremonies

that were performed for Egyptian Kings, and Unâs, Tetâ, Pepi I., and others covered the greater part of the chambers, corridors, etc., of their pyramid tombs with series of texts selected from the Book of the Dead in the earliest Recension of that work known to us.¹ We possess five selections of texts from this Recension, to which, on account of its containing the views held by the priests of the colleges of Ânnu, or Heliopolis, the name Heliopolitan has been given, but we have no reason for assuming that the Chapters supplied by the five selections constitute the entire work. It is impossible at present to indicate exactly all the changes, modifications, and additions which the priests of Ânnu made in the work, but scattered throughout their Recension there is abundant evidence to show that the Recension upon which they worked was based upon two, or perhaps three, earlier Recensions. In their Recension also will be found religious ideas and beliefs which belong to entirely different strata of civilization and religious thought, and it is clear that some of them came down from the North African section of their ancestors, who at the time when they formulated them must have stood but little higher on the ladder of civilization than the semi-barbarous tribes of Western Africa and the Sûdân.

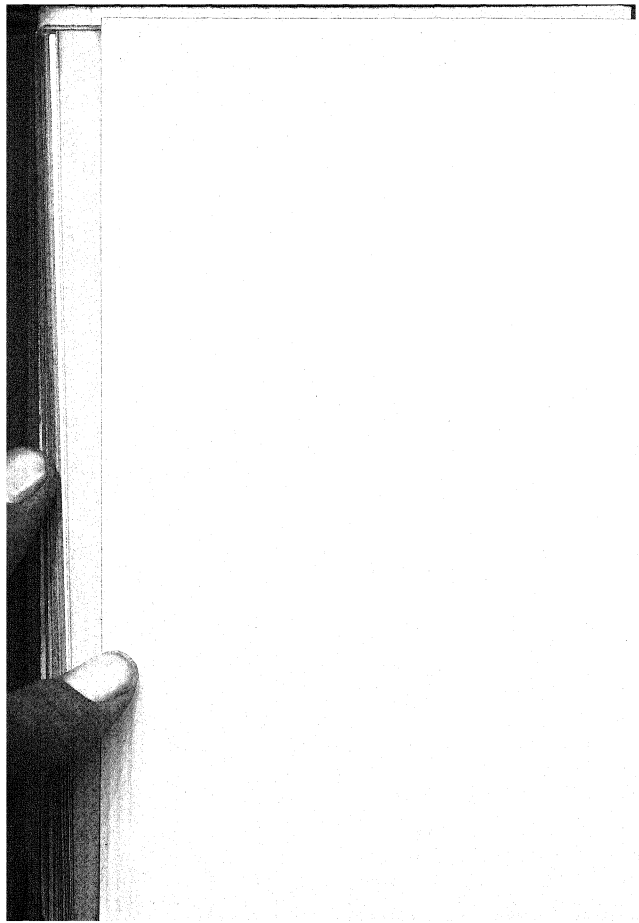
Between the VIth and the XIth Dynasties we know

¹ See Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894; this work appeared in sections in *Recueil de Travaux* tom. iii. ff.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XITH DYNASTY.



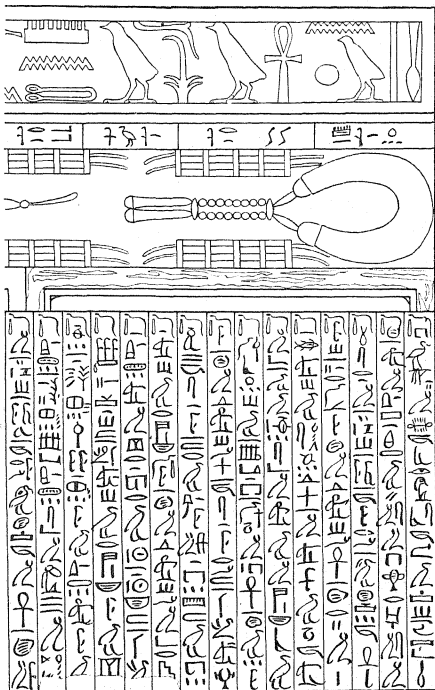
Text and Vignettes from the Sarcophagus of Āmamu (Brit. Mus., No. 6054).



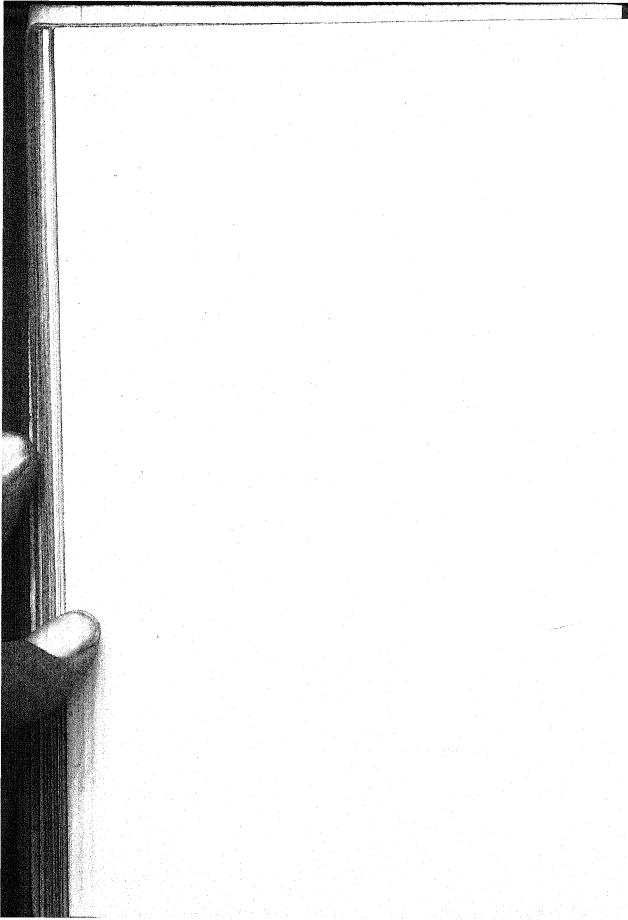
nothing of the history of the Book of the Dead, and it is not until we come to some period in the XIth Dynasty that we find other selections from the work. But little is known of the events which happened in the interval between the VIth and the XIth Dynasties, and although in Upper Egypt tombs of considerable size and beauty were built, yet no striking development in funeral ceremonies took place, and we may assume in consequence that no new Recension of the Book of the Dead was made; if it was, we certainly have no record of it. Belonging to the XIth and XIIth Dynasties, however, we have a number of coffins and tombs which are inscribed with selections of texts from the so-called Heliopolitan Recension; such texts differ in extent only and not in character or contents from those of the royal pyramids of Šakḳâra of the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Coffins at this period were made to represent the main funeral chamber or hall of a tomb of an older period, and are covered inside with lengthy texts traced in hieratic characters in black ink upon the wood, while the outside is plain except for a few short inscriptions, which record the name and titles of the deceased, and short prayers. Above the perpendicular lines of text on all four sides inside the coffin are painted pictures of the objects which it was customary in those days to present as funeral offerings, and above these is a horizontal line of hieroglyphics which contains the name of the deceased and usually a prayer that funeral offerings may be made to him for

ever. The texts in such coffins are rarely identical, and they have no fixed order, and it seems as if individual fancy either of the deceased or of the funeral scribe dictated the selection. As no pyramids were inscribed with extracts from the Book of the Dead at this period it is clear that economy prescribed the custom of burying the dead in inscribed wooden coffins, which were far cheaper than stone pyramids.

Between the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties there comes another break in the history of the Book of the Dead, and with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty that work enters a new phase of its existence; from pyramids the transition was to coffins, and now the transition is from coffins to papyri. And here again economy probably played an important part. Inscribed pyramids, and sarcophagi, and coffins would, necessarily, be only made for royal personages and for great and wealthy folk, but a roll of papyrus was, in comparison with these, an inexpensive thing, especially if the services of an ordinary scribe were employed in transcribing it, or if a man wrote his own copy of the Book of the Dead. The greater number of the papyri inscribed with selections of texts from the Book of the Dead have been found in the tombs of Thebes, where they were copied chiefly for the priests and their wives and families, the majority of whom were attached to the service of "Āmen-Rā, the king of the gods, the lord of the thrones of the world," the seat of whose worship was at Thebes; and for this reason the Re-

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XIITH DYNASTY.

Text and Vignettes from the Sarcophagus of Sebek-*na* at Berlin
(Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, pl. 42).



cension of the Book of the Dead which we find in common use from the XVIIIth to the XXIIInd Dynasty is generally called the Theban Recension. The texts which the priests of Amen copied were, of course, those of Annu, or Heliopolis, and during the earlier centuries of the existence of the great brotherhood of the priests of Amen they did little more than adopt the religious views and doctrines of the sages of that place. As time went on, however, and the brotherhood obtained greater power, they slowly but surely made their god Amen to usurp the attribute of the oldest gods of Egypt, and at length, as we may see from Chapter CLXXI. (*infra*, p. 580), his name is included among theirs. Fine copies of papyri of the Theban Recension vary in length from 15 to 90 feet, and in width from 12 to 18 inches. In the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty the text is always written in black ink in vertical columns of hieroglyphics, which are separated from each other by black lines; the titles and initial words of the Chapters, and the rubrics and catch-words are written in red ink. At this period the scribes began to ornament their papyri with designs traced in black outline, but such designs, or "vignettes," were not wholly invented by the priests of Amen, for on some of the finest coffins of the XIth Dynasty we find painted a number of vignettes which illustrate the texts, and in the case of such a vignette as that which represents the Elysian Fields we find that the scribe of the XVIIIth Dynasty copied the design of the scribe

of the XIth Dynasty in all essentials. It is possible that the scribe of the earlier period possessed an archetype which was their ultimate authority for their vignettes, but if they did, no remains of it have up to the present been found. In the XIXth Dynasty the vignettes were painted in very bright colours, and the texts were, little by little, driven into the subordinate position which the vignettes occupied at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when they were traced in black outline. In the Papyrus of Hunefer (Brit. Mus. No. 9901) almost everything has been sacrificed to the beautifully coloured vignettes which it contains, and as a result its text of the XVIIth Chapter is so full of mistakes that many parts of it have no meaning at all. At first the "setting out" of a papyrus was done by the scribe, and the artist, if one was employed, filled in his vignettes in the spaces which had been left blank by the scribe; but subsequently the artist seems to have painted his vignettes first and the scribe had to be content with the spaces which had been allotted to him by the artist. Long copies of the Theban Recension were made in sections, which were afterwards joined together, and sometimes several scribes and artists, who seem to have been ignorant or careless of what each other was doing, were employed upon them. Thus fine papyri which have been made in sections contain duplicates, and even triplicates of some Chapters, and in some cases where duplicates occur the arrangement, both of texts and vignettes, is

quite different in each. One of the finest illustrated papyri in existence, the Papyrus of Ani, omits a large section of the text of the XVIIth Chapter, a result which is probably due to the scribe, who omitted to copy what seems to be the contents of a whole sheet of the text. Vignettes, however, have at times a peculiar value, for they often supply descriptions of mythological scenes, names of gods, etc., which occur nowhere in the texts; of special importance in this connexion are the Judgment Scenes and its accompanying texts, and the long vignette to the XVIIth Chapter. In the XXIst and XXIInd Dynasties we note a gradual falling off in the skill exhibited in the artistic work on the papyri of the Book of the Dead, and many changes take place in respect of the form as well as their contents. In the first place they are shorter and narrower, especially those which were made for the priests of Amen, and texts are inserted in them which belong to a great funeral composition entitled "The Book of that which is in the Underworld." Some papyri, however, preserve many of the characteristics of those of the best period, but it almost seems as if the work of both scribes and artists had greatly deteriorated, and it is certain that the views of the priests of Amen with reference to the Book of the Dead had changed. Thus in the Papyrus of Anhai, of the XXIInd Dynasty (Brit. Mus. No. 10,472), we find a vignette representing the Creation, and others which have no connexion with the Book of the Dead in the strict sense of the

term; the artist's work is good of its kind, and the use of gold in it for purposes of illumination is instructive. The texts are fragmentary and incomplete, and often have no connexion whatsoever with the vignettes which accompany them. About this period texts are copied in which the scribe has read from the *end* of the composition instead of the beginning; omissions of whole sections of texts are frequent; vignettes are frequently assigned to Chapters with which they have no connexion; and what appears at first sight to be a Chapter frequently consists of nothing but a series of fragments of sentences, copied without break merely to fill up the space which the artist had left blank for the text. In short, showy papyri with inaccurate texts are common at this period. It is interesting too to note how great had become the influence of the priests of Amen in the XXIInd Dynasty, and how they gradually made their god to usurp the attributes of the older gods of Egypt. In the Papyrus of the Princess Nesi Khensu which is preserved in the Cairo Museum, the hieratic text opens with a long detailed list of the titles of Amen-Rā, and instead of a selection of Chapters from the Theban Recension we find a series of statements, couched apparently in legal language, in which Amen-Rā swears that he will confer every possible favour upon the deceased lady. About the same period it became customary to write copies of the Book of the Dead in hieratic, and to illustrate them with vignettes traced in outline in black ink; some of these papyri measure

about 50ft. by 1ft. 6in., but in others the dimensions are considerably less. As in the old days, the scribes who wrote such papyri observed no rule in the order of the Chapters, to which, however, they gave special titles; these were, of course, like the texts which followed them, copied from the Theban Recension.

Of the history of the Book of the Dead in the period which lies between the end of the XXIInd and the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasty we know nothing, but this is not much to be wondered at when we consider that the period was one of trouble and tumult. The priests of Amen-Rā, having made their god to usurp the position of Rā and the other gods in the religious system of Egypt, next usurped the kingdom on behalf of themselves; but they were unable to maintain the authority of Egypt in the countries which had been conquered by the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and as an inevitable result the subject nations and tribes refused to pay the tribute which had been imposed upon them. The failure in tribute spelt failure in offerings to the temples, and consequently loss of temporal power by the priests, and when the people of Egypt realized that they were losing their position among the nations they brought the rule of the priests of Amen to an end. The loss of income of both priests and people resulted promptly in the curtailment of expense in connexion with funeral ceremonies, and thus it happens that the burials of the priests were attended with less pomp,

and the custom of making copies of the Book of the Dead fell into abeyance; indeed, a time came, about B.C. 700, when no copies at all were made, and it seems as if this time corresponded with the period of the final failure of the priests of Amen to rule the country.

With the rise to power of the kings of the XXVIth Dynasty, a general revival of ancient religious and funeral customs took place, and the temples were cleansed and repaired, and ancient and long-forgotten texts were unearthed and copies of them taken, and artists and sculptors took the models for their work from the best productions of the masters of the Early Empire. In such a revival the Book of the Dead was not forgotten, and there is no doubt that those who were the principal authors of the movement became fully aware of the fact that the texts which formed their old national and religious work sorely needed re-editing and re-arranging, and measures were accordingly taken to put some system into them. How and when exactly this was done cannot be said, but it is probable that it was carried out by an assembly or college of priests, and the result of their labours was the Sarte Recension of the Book of the Dead. The papyri extant which may be rightly assigned to this period show that in this Recension the Chapters have a fixed order, and that although some selections of texts may be smaller than others, the Chapters common to all papyri have always the

same relative order. Each of the early Recensions of the Book of the Dead exhibits peculiarities which reflect the religious views of the time when it was written, and the Saïte Recension is no exception to the rule, for included in it are four Chapters (CLXII.-CLXV.) which have no counterparts in the papyri of the older period. These Chapters contain many foreign words and unusual ideas, and it is much to be wished that the circumstances under which they were introduced into the Book of the Dead were known. The characteristics of the papyri containing the Saïte Recension are:—I. The text is written in long, vertical columns of hieroglyphics of purely conventional form, separated by black lines; 2. The vignettes are traced in outline in black, and generally occupy small spaces at the top of the text to which they refer, the usual exceptions being those which represent the Sunrise or Sunset, the Judgment Scene, the Elysian Fields, and the Seven Cows and their Bull which illustrates the text of Chapter CXLVIII.

The Recension of the Book of the Dead in use in Ptolemaic times was the Saïte, but before the rule of the Ptolemies had come to an end a number of short religious works intended to be written upon funeral papyri had been composed, and it became customary to make copies of these for the benefit of the dead, and to lay them in the coffin or tomb, rather than selections from the older work. It appears as if an attempt was made by the scribes to extract from the texts of a

bygone time only such parts as were believed to be absolutely necessary for the salvation of the deceased, and they omitted the hymns of praise and the addresses to the gods, and the compositions which were the outcome of beliefs and of a mythology which had long been forgotten. Many things in papyri of the period show that the scribes were quite ignorant of the meaning of the texts which they were copying, and also of the correct arrangement of the vignettes which they added. Of special interest among the works which were popular in the Ptolemaic and Græco-Roman periods, and probably later, is the "Shai en Sensen," or "Book of Breathings." In this composition we find ideas and beliefs which were derived from the Book of the Dead, and which show that the fundamental conceptions of the future life were the same as ever in the minds of the people; as a summary of all the ideas and beliefs that appertain to the immortality and happiness of the soul of the deceased and of his dead body it is remarkable, and considered from this point of view contains scarcely an unnecessary word.¹ In the Roman period small rolls of papyrus were inscribed with series of asseverations concerning the piety of life of deceased persons and their happiness in the world beyond the grave, and were buried with them, the writers' aim being not so much to glorify the gods of Egypt as to secure for the dead the happiness and

¹ A rendering of it will be found in the Appendix (Vol. III., p. 657).

blessings of immortality in the next world at the least possible expense in this. But the knowledge of the old Recensions of the Book of the Dead was not quite dead in the early centuries of the Christian era, for on a coffin in Paris, which probably dates from the second century after Christ, are written a number of texts which are certainly as old as the Pyramids at Şakḳâra, a fact which proves that, when such were needed, originals from which to copy them could be found, even at that late period. The various Recensions of the Book of the Dead may be thus summarized :—

1. THE HELIOPOLITAN RECENSION : (a) That which was used in the Vth and VIth Dynasties, and is found inscribed in hieroglyphics upon the walls and chambers of the Pyramids at Şakḳâra ; (b) That which was written in cursive hieroglyphics upon coffins in the XIth and XIIth Dynasties.
2. THE THEBAN RECENSION : (a) That which was written upon papyri and painted upon coffins in hieroglyphics from the XVIIIth to the XXIIInd Dynasties ; (b) That which was written in the hieratic character upon papyri in the XXIst and XXIIInd Dynasties.
3. THE SÂÏTE RECENSION, which was written upon papyri, coffins, etc., in the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic characters during the XXVIth and following Dynasties ; this was the Recension

which was much used in the Ptolemaic period, and which may be regarded as the last form of the Book of the Dead.

In the Graeco-Roman and Roman periods extracts from the last Recension were written upon papyri a few inches square and buried with the dead, and we see that the great religious work of the ancient Egyptians, which had been in existence for at least 5000 years, and mere selections from which would fill the walls of the chambers and passages of a pyramid, or which would fill several scores of feet of papyrus, or would cover a whole coffin, ended its existence in almost illegible scrawls hastily traced upon scraps of papyrus only a few inches square.

From first to last throughout the Book of the Dead, with the exceptions of Kings Senti and Men-kau-Rā, and Heru-tā-tā-f, the son of Khufu, the name of no man is mentioned as the author or reviser of any part of it. Certain Chapters may show the influence of the cult of a certain city or cities, but the Book of the Dead cannot be regarded as the work of any one man or body of men, and it does not represent the religious views and beliefs of any one part only of Egypt; on the contrary, the beliefs of many peoples and periods are gathered together in it. As a whole, the Book of the Dead was regarded as the work of the god Thoth, the scribe of the gods, and thus was believed to be of divine origin; it was Thoth who spoke the words at the Creation which were carried into effect by Ptah

and Khnemu, and as advocate and helper of the god Osiris, and therefore of every believer in Osiris, the ascription of the authorship to him is most fitting. This view was held down to a late period, for in the Book of Breathings,¹ in an address to the deceased it is said, "Thoth, the most mighty god, the lord of "Khemennu (Hermopolis), cometh to thee, and he "writeth for thee the Book of Breathings with his own "fingers." Copies of the Book of the Dead, and works of a similar nature, were placed either in the coffin with the deceased, or in some part of the hall of the tomb, or of the mummy chamber, generally in a niche which was cut for the purpose. Sometimes the papyrus was laid loosely in the coffin, but more frequently it was placed between the legs of the deceased, either just above the ankles or near the upper part of the thighs, before the swathing of the mummy took place. In the XXIst Dynasty the custom grew up of placing funeral papyri in hollow wooden figures of the god Osiris, which were placed in the tombs, but in later times, when funeral papyri were much smaller, they were laid in rectangular cavities sunk either in the tops or sides of the pedestals to which such figures were attached. At first the figure was that of the god Osiris, in his character of god of the dead and judge of the underworld, but the attributes of the triune god Ptah-

¹ See page 637 ff.

Seker-Âsar, the god of the resurrection, were subsequently added to it, and suitable variations in the texts written on the papyri which were placed in or beneath them were made accordingly.

OSIRIS, THE GOD OF JUDGMENT, THE
RESURRECTION, IMMORTALITY,
THE ELYSIAN FIELDS, ETC.

IN the oldest religious texts known the absolute identity of the deceased with Osiris is always assumed by the writer, and in later times the deceased is actually called by the name of the god; moreover, in every detail of the funeral ceremonies the friends and relatives of the dead sought to imitate the ceremonies which were declared by tradition to have been performed for the god, believing that thereby only could everlasting life and happiness be assured to the departed. The history of Osiris is shrouded in the mists of remote antiquity, and as the ancient Egyptian writers supply us with no information concerning their theories about the god there are small grounds for hoping that we shall ever possess any authentic history of him. It is, however, quite certain that even in the earliest dynastic times in Egypt the history of Osiris was legendary, and that all the main features of the story which Plutarch gave in *De Iside et Osiride* were then current; the scene on the plaque of Senti

(see British Museum, No. 32,650), a king of the Ist Dynasty, proves that the "god on the top of the staircase" occupied a most prominent position in the religion of the country. The texts of the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of Dead assume throughout that Osiris occupied the position of chief of the cycle of the gods of the dead, and down to the earliest centuries of the Christian era the fundamental ideas expressed in every text which was written for the benefit of the dead rest on this assumption. It was universally believed that Osiris was of divine origin, that he lived upon earth in a material body, that he was treacherously murdered and cut in pieces, that his sister Isis collected the limbs of his body, and, by means of magical words which had been specially provided by the god Thoth, reconstituted it, that the god came to life again by these means, that he became immortal, and entered into the underworld, where he became both the judge and king of the dead. The dismembering of the body of Osiris rather calls to mind the practice of the pre-dynastic Egyptians who, at one period, cut the bodies of their dead into pieces before burial, and removed the head from the body, to which, however, they showed special honour by placing it in a raised position in the grave. Thus one portion of the legend of Osiris may be of indigenous or North African origin; at all events the ceremonies connected with the raising up of the Tēṭ which were performed in early dynastic times at Abydos, where the head of the god was believed to be

buried, suggest the commemoration of funeral rites which can hardly have been introduced by the conquerors from the East. In the XVIIIth Dynasty it is expressly stated in Chapter CLIV. of the Book of the Dead (*infra*, p. 517) that Osiris neither decayed, nor putrefied, nor rotted away, nor became worms, nor perished, and that he enjoyed existence, being in the full possession of all the members of his body. Thus the deceased King Thothmes III. is made to say, "I shall live, I shall live. I shall grow, I shall grow, I shall grow. I shall wake up in peace; I shall not putrefy; my intestines shall not perish; I shall not suffer from any defect; mine eye shall not decay, the form of my visage shall not disappear; mine ear shall not become deaf; my head shall not be separated from my neck; my tongue shall not be carried away; my hair shall not be cut off; mine eyebrows shall not be shaved off; and no baleful injury shall come upon me. My body shall be stablished (i.e., constituted), and it shall neither fall into decay nor be destroyed upon this earth." And the king, and every other follower of Osiris, believed that he would enjoy everlasting life and happiness in a perfectly constituted body *because* Osiris had conquered death, and had risen from the dead, and was living in a body which was perfect in all its members; moreover, for countless generations Osiris was the type and emblem of the resurrection, and relying upon his power to give immortality to man untold

generations lived and died. In the hymns which are addressed to him he is called the "king of eternity, the "lord of the everlasting, who passeth through millions "of years in his existence" (see p. 18); and again it is said (see p. 67), "The dead rise up to see thee, they "breathe the air and they look upon thy face when the "Disk riseth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace "inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who art "Eternity and Everlastingness." Still more remarkable are the words which were addressed to him by the god Thoth and which are found in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (see p. 623); the scribe of the gods having enumerated all the titles of Osiris in a series of paragraphs, and shown how love for him permeates every god, says, "Homage to thee, O Governor of those who are "in Amentet, who dost make men and women to "be born again,"



the new birth being the birth into the new life of the world which is beyond the grave, and is everlasting.

All the pictures of the god Osiris known to us in funeral texts represent him as a being swathed in mummied form, and wearing on his head the white crown, and holding in his hands the emblems of sovereignty and dominion; but those which represent the deceased make him to appear in the ordinary garb of a man who is dressed in ceremonial attire, and he is seen in the Judgment Hall and other places in heaven in the form

wherein he went about upon earth. There is reason for thinking that pre-dynastic man believed that his dead would live again in the identical bodies which they had upon earth, i.e., in a material resurrection, and there is no doubt that the funeral offerings which they placed in their graves and tombs were intended to be their food in the next world whilst they were accommodating themselves to their new circumstances. In later times, although the funeral offerings were made as before, the belief in a material resurrection was given up by educated Egyptians, and in texts, both of the earliest and latest periods of Egyptian history, it is distinctly stated that the material part of man rests in the earth whilst the immaterial part has its abode in heaven. Thus in a text of the Vth Dynasty¹ we read, "Rā receiveth thee, soul in heaven, body in earth;" and in one of the VIth Dynasty² it is said to the deceased, "Thine essence is in heaven, thy body is in the "earth"; and in a text of the Ptolemaic period³ it is declared to the deceased, "Heaven hath thy soul, "earth hath thy body." In another text, also of a late date,⁴ the deceased is addressed in these words, "Thy "soul is in heaven before Rā, thy double hath that "which should be given unto it with the gods, thy "spiritual body is glorious among the spirits of fire,

¹ Pyramid of Unâs, line 582.

² Pyramid of Totâ, line 304.

³ See J. de Horrack, *Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866, p. 6.

⁴ See Lieblein, *Que mon nom fleurisse*, p. 2, l. 2 ff., and p. 17, l. 2 ff.


"and thy material body is established in the under-world (i.e., grave)." All the available evidence shows that the Egyptians of dynastic times mummified the dead body because they believed that a spiritual body would "germinate" or develop itself in it. We know that an ancient belief held that the head of Osiris was buried at Abydos, and many cities of Egypt claimed that limbs of Osiris were buried in them, and one tradition affirmed that the whole body of the god rested in Annu or Heliopolis. The texts show that the Egyptians believed that, if the prescribed prayers were said and the appropriate ceremonies were properly performed over the dead body by duly appointed priests, it acquired the power of developing from out of itself an immaterial body called *sāhu*, which was able to ascend to heaven and to dwell with the gods there. The *sāhu* took the form of the body from which it sprang and was immortal, and in it lived the soul. The god Osiris possessed a *sāhu* in the Egyptian heaven, and in Chapter CXXX. of the Book of the Dead (line 36) the deceased Nu is declared to have received this *sāhu* from the god; in other words, Osiris rewarded the beatified dead by bestowing upon them his own spiritual form; and elsewhere (see p. 349) the deceased says, "Behold, verily I have said unto thee, O Osiris, 'I am a *sāhu* of the god,'" i.e., of Osiris. The proof that the soul dwelt in the *sāhu* is furnished by a passage in the LXXXIXth Chapter, wherein the deceased addresses the "gods who make

"souls to enter into their *sāhu*" (see p. 280), and the distinct difference between the material and spiritual body is well illustrated by the following petition, which comes at the end of the same Chapter:—"And behold, "grant ye that the soul of Osiris Ani, triumphant, may "come forth before the gods and that it may be triumphant along with you in the eastern part of the sky "to follow unto the place where it (i.e., the 'boat of "millions of years') was yesterday [and that my soul "may have] peace, peace in Amentet. May it look "upon its material body, may it rest upon its spiritual "body; and may its body neither perish nor suffer "corruption for ever." It now remains to enumerate briefly the constituent parts of man physically, mentally, and spiritually.


1. The physical body, which was called *khat*




, i.e., that which was liable to decay, and could only be preserved by mummification.


2. The *ka* , a word which by general consent is translated "double"; the Coptic equivalent is *κω*, and it can in most cases be accurately rendered by one of the meanings of *εἶδωλον*. The *ka* was an abstract individuality or personality which possessed the form and attributes of the man to whom it belonged, and, though its normal dwelling place was in the tomb with the body, it could wander about at will; it was independent of the man and could go and dwell in any statue of him. It was supposed to eat and drink, and

the greatest care was usually taken to lay abundant supplies of offerings in the tombs lest the *kas* of those who were buried in them should be reduced to the necessity of leaving their tombs and of wandering about and eating offal and drinking filthy water.

3. The *ba* , or heart-soul, was in some way connected with the *ka*, in whom or with whom it was supposed to dwell in the tomb, and to partake of the funeral offerings, although in many texts it is made to live with Rā or Osiris in heaven. It seems to have been able to assume a material or immaterial form at will, and in the former character it is depicted as a human-headed hawk; in the Papyrus of Nebqet at Paris (ed. Devéria and Pierret, pl. 3) it is seen in this form flying down the funeral pit, bearing air and food to the mummified body to which it belongs. The soul could visit the body whensoever it pleased.


4. The *ab* , or heart, was closely associated with the soul, and it was held to be the source both of the animal life and of good and evil in man. The preservation of the heart of a man was held to be of the greatest importance, and in the Judgment it is the one member of the body which is singled out for special examination; here, however, the heart is regarded as having been the centre of the spiritual and thinking life, and as the organ through which the manifestations of virtue and vice revealed themselves, and it typifies


everything which the word "conscience" signifies to us. The necessity of preserving the material heart was very great, and four Chapters of the Book of the Dead (XXVII.—XXXB.) were composed to prevent the heart of a man from being carried off or driven away from him in the underworld by the "stealers of hearts." The most favourite of these Chapters was XXXB., which is found inscribed on large numbers of green basalt amulets, which date from the period of the XIIth Dynasty to that of the Romans. The heart amulet is made in the form of a scarab or beetle, and both it and the Chapter which is associated with it are connected, in the Papyrus of Nu (see p. 221), with that version of the LXIVth Chapter which is there declared to be as old as the time of Men-kau-Rä, a king of the IVth Dynasty.


5. The *khaibit* , or shadow, was closely associated with the *ba* or soul, and was certainly regarded as an integral portion of the human economy; it, like the *ka*, seems to have been nourished by the offerings which were made in the tomb of the person to whom it belonged. Like the *ka* also it had an existence apart from the body, and it had the power of going wheresoever it pleased. As far back as the time of King Unäs¹ we find that souls and spirits and shadows are mentioned together, and in the XCIIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead (see p. 286) the deceased is made to

¹ *La Pyramide du roi Ounas*, line 523.

say, "O keep not captive my soul, O keep not ward
 "over my shadow, but let a way be opened for my soul
 "and for my shadow, and let them see the Great God
 "in the shrine on the day of the judgment of souls,
 "and let them recite the utterances of Osiris, whose
 "habitations are hidden, to those who guard the
 "members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the
 "spirits, and who hold captive the shadows of the dead
 "who would work evil against me."

6. The *khu* , or spiritual soul, is often mentioned in connexion with the *ba* or heart-soul, and it seems to have been regarded as an ethereal being, in fact the SOUL which under no circumstances could die; it dwelt in the *sāhu* or spiritual body.

7. The *sekhem* , or power, which we may look upon as the incorporeal personification of the vital force of a man; the *sekhem* dwelt in heaven among the *khus* or spirits, and in the texts it is usually mentioned in connexion with the soul and the spirit.

8. The *ren* , or name, to preserve which the Egyptians took the most extraordinary precautions, for the belief was widespread that unless the name of a man was preserved he ceased to exist. Already in the time of King Pepi the name was regarded as a most important portion of a man's economy, and in the following passage¹ it ranks equally with the *ka*:—


¹ *La Pyramide du Roi Pepi Ier*, line 169.

"The iron which is the ceiling of heaven openeth
 "itself before Pepi, and he passeth through it with his
 "panther skin upon him, and his staff and whip in his
 "hand; Pepi passeth with his flesh, and he is happy
 "with his name, and he liveth with his double."
 Already in the Pyramid Texts¹ we find the deceased
 making supplication that his name may "grow" or

¹ *La Pyramide du Roi Pepi II.*, line 669 ff. The extract reads:—

"Hail, Great Company of the gods who are in Annu, grant that
 "Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā may flourish, and grant that his pyramid, his
 "everlasting building, may flourish, even as the name of Temu,
 "the Governor of the Great Company of the gods, flourisheth. If
 "the name of Shu, the lord of the upper shrine in Annu, flourisheth,
 "Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his pyramid, his ever-
 "lasting building, shall flourish. If the name of Tefnut, the lady
 "of the lower shrine in Annu, is established, the name of this Pepi
 "Nefer-ka-Rā shall be established, and this pyramid shall be
 "established for ever. If the name of Seb, the soul of the earth (?),
 "flourisheth, the name of Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this
 "his pyramid shall flourish, and his everlasting building shall
 "flourish. If the name of Nut flourisheth in Het-Sheuth in Annu,
 "the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his
 "pyramid shall flourish, and this his building shall flourish for
 "ever. If the name of Osiris flourisheth in the nome Teni, the
 "name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his pyramid
 "shall flourish, and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the
 "name of Osiris, Governor of Amenti, flourisheth, the name of
 "this Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall
 "flourish, and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the
 "name of Set in Nubt (Ombos) flourisheth, the name of Pepi
 "Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish,
 "and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the name of
 "Horus of Behutet flourisheth, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā
 "shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish, and this his
 "building shall flourish for ever. If the name of Rā flourisheth in
 "the horizon, the name of this Pepi Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish,
 "and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the name of
 "Khent-Merti in Sekhem is established, the name of this Pepi
 "Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his Pyramid shall flourish,
 "and this his building shall flourish for ever. If the name of
 "Uatchit who dwelleth in Tep flourisheth, the name of this Pepi
 "Nefer-ka-Rā shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish,
 "and this his building shall flourish for ever."

"shoot forth" and endure as long as the names of Tem, Shu, Seb, and other gods, and, with modifications, the prayer written for Pepi II. in the VIth Dynasty was in common use at the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt. To preserve the name of his parents was the bounden duty of every pious son, and every offering which was made in a man's tomb, however small, provided it was coupled with the mention of the deceased's name, helped to keep in existence the person whose name was mentioned.¹


9. The *sāhu* , or spiritual body, which formed the habitation of the soul. It sprang from the material body, through the prayers which were said, and the ceremonies which were performed at the tomb or elsewhere by duly appointed and properly qualified priests, and was lasting and incorruptible. In it all the mental and spiritual attributes of the natural body were united to the new powers of its own nature.

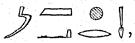
There is little doubt that the beliefs in the existence of these various members of the spiritual and material bodies are not all of the same age, and they probably

¹ The idea is pithily expressed in the text of Pepi I. (I. 20)

. "Thy name shall live upon earth; thy name shall endure upon earth; thou shalt never perish, thou shalt never, never come to an end."

represent several stages of intellectual development on the part of the Egyptians; their origin and development it is now impossible to trace, and the contradictions in the texts prove that the Egyptians themselves had not always definite ideas about the functions of each.

The judgment of the dead took place in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, the exact position of which is unknown; the Judge was Osiris, who was supported by the gods which formed his *paut*  or company. The judgment of each individual seems to have taken place soon after death; those who were condemned in the judgment were devoured straightway by the Eater of the Dead, and ceased to exist, and those who were not condemned entered into the domains of Osiris, where they found everlasting life and happiness. There are no grounds for thinking that the Egyptians believed either in a general resurrection or in protracted punishment. The deceased whose heart or conscience had been weighed in the balance, and not found wanting, was declared to be "maā kheru"

, and in papyri these words always follow the names of the persons for whom they were written. They are commonly rendered "triumphant," or "victorious," "disant la vérité," "véridique," "juste," "justifié," "vainqueur," "waltend des Wortes," "mächtig der Rede," "vrai de voix," "juste de voix," etc., but their true meaning seems to be "he


whose word is right and true," *i.e.*, he whose word is held to be right and true by those to whom it is addressed, and as a result, whatsoever is ordered or commanded by the person who is declared in the Judgment Hall to be *maā kheru* is straightway performed by the beings or things who are commanded or ordered. Thus before the person who possessed the "right word," the doors of the halls of the underworld were opened, and the beings who had power therein became his servants; he had power to go wheresoever he pleased, and to do whatsoever he pleased, and he became the equal of the gods. The ideas which attached to the words *maā kheru* are well illustrated by the following passage from the text of Pepi I. (l. 171 ff.):—"O enter into the verdant stream of "the Lake of Kha, O fill with water the Fields of "Āaru, and let Pepi set sail for the eastern half "of heaven towards that place where the gods are "brought forth, wherein Pepi himself may be borne "along with them as Ḥeru-khuti, for Pepi is *maā* "*kheru*, and Pepi acclaimeth, and the *ka* of Pepi "acclaimeth [the gods]. And they call Pepi, and "they bring to him these four [gods] who make their "way over the tresses of Horus, and who stand with "their sceptres in the eastern half of heaven; and "they declare to Rā the excellent name of Pepi, and "they exalt the excellent name of Pepi before Neheb-
"kau, for Pepi is *maā kheru*, and Pepi acclaimeth, and "his *ka* acclaimeth [the gods]. The sister of Pepi is

"Sothis, and the birth of Pepi is the morning star,
"and it is he who is under the body of heaven before
"Rā. Pepi is *maā kheru*, and he acclaimeth and his
"*ka* acclaimeth [the gods]."

The allusion to the "Fields of Aaru" in the above extract leads naturally to a brief mention of the "Sekhet-hetepet," or Elysian Fields, wherein the beatified were believed to lead a life of celestial happiness. At a very early period in their history the Egyptians believed in the existence of a place wherein the blessed dead led a life of happiness, the characteristics of which much resemble those of the life which he had led upon earth; these characteristics are so similar that it is hard to believe that in the early times the one life was not held to be a mere continuation of the other. At all events, the delights and pleasures of this world were believed to be forthcoming in the next, and a life there in a state of happiness which depended absolutely upon material things was contemplated. Such ideas date from the time when the Egyptians were in a semi-savage state, and the preservation of them is probably due to their extreme conservatism in all matters connected with religion; the remarkable point about them is their persistence, for they occur in texts which belong to periods when it was impossible for the Egyptians to have attached any serious importance to them, and some of the coarsest ideas are in places mingled with the expression of lofty spiritual conceptions. In a

passage in the text of Unās it is said of this king (l. 623), "Unās hath come to his pools which are on both sides of the stream of the goddess Meht-urt, and to the place of verdant offerings, and to the fields which are on the horizon; he hath made his fields on both sides of the horizon to be verdant. He hath brought the crystal to the Great Eye which is in the field, he hath taken his seat in the horizon, he riseth like Sebek the son of Neith, he eateth with his mouth, he voideth water, he enjoyeth the pleasures of love, and he is the begetter who carrieth away women from their husbands whenever it pleaseth him so to do." And in the text of Tetā (l. 286 f.) we read, "Hail, Osiris Tetā, Horus hath granted that Thoth shall bring thine enemy unto thee. He hath placed thee behind him that he may not harm thee and that thou mayest make thy seat upon him, and that when coming forth thou mayest sit upon him so that he may not be able to force intercourse upon thee." Such passages give a very clear idea of the state of Egyptian morals when they were written, and they indicate the indignities to which those vanquished in war, both male and female, were exposed at the hands of the conquerors.

The texts of the early period supply much information about the pleasures of the deceased in the world beyond the grave, but no attempt to *illustrate* the employments of the blessed dead is given until the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the vignette to the CXth

Chapter of the Book of the Dead was inserted in papyri.¹ Here we have an idea given of the conception which the Egyptian formed of the place wherein he was to dwell after death. A large homestead or farm, intersected with canals, is at once his paradise and the home of the blessed dead, and the abode of the god of his city. This place is called Sekhet-Áaru or "Field of Reeds," and the name certainly indicates that at one time the Egyptian placed his paradise in the north of Egypt, probably in some part of the Delta, near Tattu, or Busiris, the capital of the Busirite or ninth nome of Lower Egypt. It was here that the reconstitution of the dismembered body of Osiris took place, and it was here that the solemn ceremony of setting up the , or backbone of Osiris, was performed each year. The Field of Reeds, however, was but a portion of the district called "Sekhet-Hetep" or "Sekhet-Hetepet," or "Fields of Peace," over which there presided a number of gods, and here the deceased led a life which suggests that the idea of the whole place originated with a nation of agriculturists. In the vignettes we see the deceased sailing in a boat laden with offerings which he is bearing to the hawk-god. In another place he is reaping wheat and driving the oxen which tread out the corn, and beyond that he is kneeling before two heaps of grain, one red and one white. In the next

¹ The earliest form of this vignette known to me occurs inside one of the Al-Barshah coffins, and is as old as the XIth or XIIth Dynasty.

division he is ploughing the land of Sekhet-Ānru or Sekhet-Āaru, by the side of a stream of vast length and unknown breadth, which contains neither worm nor fish. In the fourth division is the abode of the god Osiris, and here are the places where dwell those who are nourished upon divine food, and the spiritual bodies of the dead. In one section of this division the deceased placed the god of his city, so that even in respect of his religious observances his life might be as perfect as it was upon earth. His wishes in the matter of the future life are represented by the following prayer:—"Let me be rewarded with thy fields, O god "Hetep; that which is thy wish shalt thou do, O "lord of the winds. May I become a spirit therein, "may I eat therein, may I drink therein, may I plough "therein, may I reap therein, may I fight therein, may "I make love therein, may my words be mighty therein, "may I never be in a state of servitude therein, but "may I have authority therein." Elsewhere in the same Chapter the deceased addresses the gods of the various lakes and sections of the Elysian Fields, and he states that he has bathed in the holy lake, that all uncleanness has departed from him, and that he has arrayed himself in the apparel of Rā; in his new life even amusements are provided (but they are the amusements of earth), for he snares feathered fowl and sails about in his boat catching worms and serpents.


In the texts of all periods we read often that the deceased lives with Rā, that he stands among the

company of the gods, and that he is one like unto the divine beings who dwell with them; but little is told us concerning his intercourse with those whom he has known upon earth, and if it were not for some two or three passages in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead we should be obliged to assume that the power to recognize the friends of earth in the next world was not enjoyed by the deceased. But that he really possessed this power, at least so far as his parents were concerned, we learn from the CXth Chapter, where the deceased, addressing a pool or lake situated in the first section of the Elysian Fields, says, "O "Qenqentet, I have entered into thee, and I have seen "the Osiris [my father], and I have recognized my "mother," a delight, however, which he brackets with the pleasures of making love and of catching worms and serpents! In the papyrus of the priestess Anhai (see p. 325) we actually see the deceased lady in converse with two figures, one of whom is probably her father and the other certainly her mother, for above the head of the latter are written the words "her mother" (*mut-s*) followed by the name. A supplementary proof of this is afforded by a passage in the LIInd Chapter, where the deceased says:—"The gods "shall say unto me: 'What manner of food wouldst "'thou have given unto thee?' [And I reply:] 'Let me "'eat my food under the sycamore tree of my lady, the "'goddess Hathor, and let my times be among the "'divine beings who have alighted thereon. Let me

“‘have the power to order my own fields in Tattu
“‘and my own growing crops in Annu. Let me live
“‘upon bread made of white barley, and let my ale be
“‘[made] from red grain, and may the persons of my
“‘father and my mother be given unto me as guardians
“‘of my door and for the ordering of my territory.’”
The same idea is also expressed in the CLXXXIXth
Chapter (l. 7). Thus the deceased hoped to have in
the next world an abundance of the material comforts
which he enjoyed in this world, and to meet again his
own god, and his father and mother; as we see him
frequently accompanied by his wife in several vignettes
to other Chapters we may assume that he would meet
her again along with the children whom she bore him.

It will be noticed that little is said throughout the
Book of the Dead about the spiritual occupations of
the blessed dead, and we are told nothing of the choirs
of angels who hymn the Deity everlastingly in the
religious works of later Western nations. The dead
who attained to everlasting life became in every respect
like the divine inhabitants of heaven, and they ate the
same meat, and drank the same drink, and wore the
same apparel, and lived as they lived. No classifica-
tion of angels is mentioned, and grades of them like
Cherubim, and Seraphim, Thrones, Powers, Dominions,
etc., such as are found in the celestial hierarchy of
Semitic nations, are unknown; a celestial city con-
structed on the model described in the Apocalypse is
also unknown.

We have seen that the Elysian Fields much resembled the flat, fertile lands intersected by large canals and streams of running water, such as must always have existed and may still be seen in certain parts of the Delta; of the distance to be traversed by the dead before they were reached nothing whatever is said. As the Egyptian made his future world a counterpart of the Egypt which he knew and loved, and gave to it heavenly counterparts of all the sacred cities thereof, he must have conceived the existence of a water way like the Nile, with tributaries and branches, whereon he might sail and perform his journeys. According to some texts the abode of the dead was away beyond Egypt to the north, but according to others it might be either above or below the earth. The oldest tradition of all placed it above the earth, and the sky was the large flat or vaulted iron surface which formed its floor; this iron surface was supported upon four pillars; one at each of the cardinal points, and its edges were some height above the earth. To reach this iron ceiling of the earth and floor of heaven a ladder was thought to be necessary, as we may see from the following passage, in which Pepi the king says, "Homage to thee, O "ladder¹ of the god, homage to thee, O ladder of Set. "Set thyself up, O ladder of the god, set thyself up, "O ladder of Set, set thyself up, O ladder of Horus, "whereby Osiris appeared in heaven when he wrought

¹  *maget* (Pepi I., l. 192).

"protection for Rā For it is thy son Pepi, and
"this Pepi is Horus, and thou hast given birth to this
"Pepi even as thou hast given birth to the god who is
"the lord of the ladder. Thou hast given unto him
"the ladder of the god, and thou hast given unto him
"the ladder of Set, whereby this Pepi hath appeared in
"heaven, when he wrought protection for Rā."

A later belief placed the abode of the departed away to the west or north-west of Egypt, and the souls of the dead made their way thither through a gap in the mountains on the western bank of the Nile near Abydos. A still later belief made out that the abode of the departed was a long, mountainous, narrow valley with a river running along it; starting from the east, it made its way to the north, and then taking a circular direction it came back to the east. In this valley there lived all manner of fearful monsters and beasts, and here was the country through which the sun passed during the twelve hours of night.¹ It is impossible to reconcile all the conflicting statements concerning the abode of the dead, and the Egyptians themselves held different views about it at different periods.



The Egyptians, from the earliest to the latest period of their history, were addicted to the use of magical formulae which were thought to be able to effect results usually beyond the power of man, and they accompanied the recital of such formulae by the performance of certain ceremonies. The formulae consisted of the

¹ See my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. i.

repetition of the names of gods and supernatural beings, benevolent or hostile to man as the case might be, and of entreaties or curses; the ceremonies were of various kinds.¹

The Egyptian believed that every word spoken under certain circumstances must be followed by some effect, good or bad; a prayer uttered by a properly qualified person, or by a man ceremonially pure, in the proper place, and in the proper manner, must necessarily be answered favourably; and similarly the curses which were pronounced upon a man, or beast, or thing, in the name of a hostile supernatural being were bound to result in harm to the object cursed. This idea had its origin in the belief that the world and all that therein is came into being immediately after Thoth had interpreted in words the will of the deity, in respect of the creation of the world, and that creation was the result of the god's command. In very early times the Egyptian called in the professional religious man to utter words of good omen over the dead body of his relative or friend, and later the same words written upon some substance and buried with him were believed to be effectual in procuring for him the good things of the life beyond the grave. In the text on the pyramid of Unas (l. 583) is a reference to something written which the deceased was supposed to possess, in the following words:—
“The bone and flesh which have no writing² are

See my *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1899.

²   *scs/l.*

"wretched, but, behold, the writing of Unas is under the great seal, and behold, it is not under the little seal." And in the text on the pyramid of Pepi I. we find the words, "The uraeus of this Pepi is upon his head, there is a writing on each side of him, and he hath words of magical power at his two feet"; thus equipped the king enters heaven.

A common way to effect certain results, good or evil, was to employ figures made of various substances, chiefly wax, or amulets made of precious stones and metals in various forms; both figures and amulets were inscribed with words which gave them the power to carry out the work assigned to them by those who caused them to be made. It is well known that the Egyptians believed that the qualities and much else, including the *ka*, of a living original could be transferred to an image thereof by means of the repetition over it of certain formulae, and a good or evil act done to a statue or figure resulted in good or evil to the person whom it represented.

About the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, we learn from a papyrus¹ that a man was prosecuted in Egypt for having made figures of men and women in wax, by which he caused sundry and divers pains and sicknesses to the living beings whom they represented. And, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes,² Nectanebus wrought magic by means of a bowl of water, some

¹ Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170 ff.

² Ed. Müller, lib. 1, cap. 1 ff.

waxen figures, and an ebony rod. The waxen figures were made in the forms of the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him by sea or by land, and were placed upon the water in the basin by him. Nectanebus then arrayed himself in suitable apparel, and, having taken the rod in his hand, began to recite certain formulae and the names of divine powers known unto him, whereupon the waxen figures became animated, and straightway sank to the bottom of the bowl; at the same moment the hosts of the enemy were destroyed. If the foe was coming by sea he placed the waxen soldiers in waxen ships, and at the sound of the words of power both ships and men sank into the waves as the waxen models sank to the bottom of the bowl. The same informant tells us that when Nectanebus wished Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, to believe that the god Ammon had visited her during the night, he went forth from her presence into the plain and gathered a number of herbs which had the power of causing dreams, and pressed out the juice from them. He then fashioned a female figure in the form of Olympias, and inscribed the Queen's name upon it, and having made the model of a bed he laid the figure thereon. Nectanebus next lit a lamp, and reciting the words of power which would compel the demons to send Olympias a dream, he poured out the juice of the herbs over the waxen figure; and at the moment of the performance of these acts Olympias dreamed that she was in the arms of the god Ammon.

The most important mention of figures in the Book of the Dead occurs in the VIth Chapter. When the Egyptian, in very early days, conceived the existence of the Elysian Fields it occurred to him that the agricultural labours which would have to be carried out there might entail upon himself toil and fatigue. To avoid this a short Chapter (V.) was drawn up, the recital of which was believed to free the deceased from doing any work in the underworld. But it was felt that the work must be done by some person or thing, and eventually it became the custom to bury a figure or figures of the deceased with him in his tomb so that it or they might perform whatever work fell to his share. To these figures the Egyptian gave the name *ushabtiu*, a word which is commonly rendered by "respondents" or "answerers," and they are often described in modern times as the "working figures of Hades."

Several of the Chapters of the Book of the Dead are followed by Rubrics which give directions for the performance of certain magical ceremonies, and among them may be specially mentioned the following:—

Chap. XIII. This Chapter was to be recited over two rings made of *ânkhām* flowers; one was to be laid on the right ear of the deceased, and the other was to be wrapped up in a piece of byssus whereon the name of the deceased was inscribed.

Chap. XIX. This Chapter was to be recited over the divine chaplet which was laid upon the face of the deceased while incense was burnt on his behalf.

Chap. C. This Chapter was to be recited over a picture of the boat of the Sun painted with a special ink upon a piece of new papyrus, which was to be laid on the breast of the deceased, who would then have power to embark in the boat of Rā and to journey with the god.

Chap. CXXV. The Judgment Scene was to be painted upon a tile made of earth upon which neither the pig nor any other animal had trodden; and if the text of the Chapter was also written upon it, the deceased and his children would flourish for ever, his name would never be forgotten, and his place would henceforth be with the followers of Osiris.

Chap. CXXX. This Chapter was to be recited over a picture of the god Rā wherein a figure of the deceased sitting in the bows was drawn; this done, the soul of the deceased would live for ever.

Chap. CXXXIII. This Chapter was to be recited over a *faïence* model of the boat of Rā, four cubits in length, whereon the figures of the divine chiefs were painted; painted figures of Rā and of the *Khu* of the deceased were to be placed in the boat. A model of the starry heavens was also to be made and upon it the model of the boat of Rā was to be moved about, in imitation of the motion of the boat of the god in heaven; this ceremony would cause the deceased to be received by the gods in heaven as one of themselves.

Chap. CXXXIV. This Chapter was to be recited over figures of a hawk (Rā), Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb,

Nut, Osiris, Isis, Suti, and Nephthys painted on a plaque, which was to be placed in a model of the boat of Rā wherein the deceased was seated; this ceremony would cause the deceased to travel with Rā in the sky.

Chap. CXXXVIA. This Chapter was to be recited over a figure of the deceased seated in the boat of Rā.

Chap. CXXXVIIA. This Chapter was to be recited over four fires, fed by a special kind of cloth anointed with unguent, which were to be placed in the hands of four men who had the names of the pillars of Horus written upon their shoulders. Four clay troughs, whereon incense had been sprinkled, were to be filled with the milk of a white cow, and the milk was to be employed in extinguishing the four fires. If this Chapter were recited daily (?) for the deceased he would become like unto Osiris in every respect. The Rubric supplies a series of texts which were to be recited:—(1) over a Tēṭ of crystal set in a plinth, which was to be placed in the west wall of the tomb; (2) over a figure of Anubis set in a plinth, which was to be placed in the east wall; (3) over a brick smeared with pitch which was set on fire, and then placed in the south wall; and (4) over a brick inscribed with the figure of a palm tree, which was set in the north wall.

Chap. CXL. This Chapter was to be recited over an *utchat*, or figure of the Eye of Horus, made either of lapis-lazuli or *Maḥ* stone, and over another made

of jasper. During the recital of the Chapter four altars were to be lighted for Rā-Tem, and four for the *Utchat*, and four for the gods who were mentioned therein.

Chap. CXLIV. The seven sections of this Chapter were to be recited over a drawing of the Seven Ārits, at each of which three gods were seated; by these means the deceased was prevented from being turned back at the door of any one of the seven mansions of Osiris.

Chap. CLXII. This Chapter was to be recited over the figure of a cow made of fine gold which was to be placed at the neck of the deceased; during the performance of this ceremony the priest is ordered to say, "O Āmen, O Āmen, who art in heaven, turn thy face upon the dead body of thy son and make him sound and strong in the underworld."

Chap. CLXIII. This Chapter was to be recited over a serpent having legs and wearing a disk and two horns, and over two *utchats* having both eyes and wings.

Chap. CLXIV. This Chapter was to be recited over a three-headed, ithyphallic figure of Mut painted upon a piece of linen, and over the figures of two dwarfs painted one on each side of the goddess.

Chap. CLXV. This Chapter was to be recited over the figure of the "god of the lifted hand," who had a body in the form of that of a beetle.

Besides these a number of Chapters have Rubrics,

varying in length from two to twenty lines, which declare that if the deceased be acquainted with their contents or if they be inscribed upon his coffin, they will enable him to attain great happiness and freedom in the world beyond the grave. Seven other Chapters consist of texts which were written upon the amulets that were usually laid upon the mummy, namely, Nos. XXXB., LXXXIX., CLV., CLVI., CLVII., CLVIII., and CLIX.

Finally, mention must be made here of the great importance attached by the Egyptians to the knowledge of the names of gods, supernatural beings, etc., and it seems that the deceased who was ignorant of them must have fared badly in the underworld. Thus in Chapter IB. it is said that the deceased knoweth Osiris and his names; in Chapter XCIX. the deceased is obliged to tell the names of every portion of the boat wherein he wishes to cross the great river in the underworld; in Chapter CXXV. Anubis makes him declare the names of the two leaves of the door of the Hall of Osiris before he will let him in, and even the bolts, and bolt-sockets, and lintels, and planks will not allow him to enter until the deceased has satisfied them that he knows their names. Entrance into the seven Arits or mansions could not be obtained without a knowledge of the names of the doorkeeper, watcher, and herald who belonged to each; and similarly, the pylons of the domains of Osiris could not be passed through by the deceased without a declaration by him

of the name of each. The idea underlying all such statements is that the man who knows the name of a god could invoke and obtain help from him by calling upon him, and that the hostility of a fiend could be successfully opposed by the repetition of his name. The knowledge of the names of fiends and demons constituted the chief power of the magicians of olden times, and the amulets of the Gnostics which were inscribed with numbers of names of supernatural powers are the practical expression of the belief in the efficacy of the knowledge of names which existed in Egypt from time immemorial.

THE OBJECT AND CONTENTS OF THE THEBAN
RECENSION OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

THOUGH the Chapters of the Book of the Dead represent beliefs belonging to various periods of the long life of the Egyptian nation, from the Pre-dynastic Period downwards, and opinions held by several schools of thought in Egypt, the object of them all was to benefit the deceased. They were intended to give him the power to have and to enjoy life everlasting, to give him everything which he required in the Other World, to ensure his victory over his foes, to procure for him the power of ingratiating himself with friendly beings in the Other World, and of going whithersoever he pleased and when and how he pleased, to preserve his mummified remains intact and uninjured, and finally to enable his soul to reach the Kingdom of Osiris, or to enter into the "Boat of Millions of Years," or into any and every abode of felicity which had been conceived of by him.

The various sections of the Book of the Dead, to which the name of "Chapters" was given by the scribes of the XIIth and following dynasties, were originally independent compositions, the greater number of which were written long before the Canon of the Book of the Dead was formed. Of the exact purpose


of many of them the ancient scribes were as ignorant as we are, and the titles which now stand above them in papyri contain many proofs of this fact. In the oldest Recension of the Book of the Dead, i.e., the Heliopolitan, the fullest copies of which are found on the walls of the Pyramids of Unās, Teti, Pepi I., &c., at Šakḫārah, the sections rarely have titles, and the greater number of them follow each other in unbroken succession, the reader being supposed to know for himself where one section ends and the next begins. We may assume that in the early days of dynastic civilization the number of such compositions was very large, and that a certain number, probably selected without much thought by the scribes, or priests, were copied and recited for the benefit of each king and member of the royal family, and of persons of high rank. From the sarcophagi and coffins of the XIth or XIIth Dynasty we learn that the custom of calling such funerary compositions "Chapters" was in use when they were made, but it is not always clear from the actual compositions that their titles have very much connection with their contents. The names of the learned men who composed the sections of the Book of the Dead are never given. The brief descriptions of the contents of the "Chapters" here given will, it is hoped, make clearer the general meaning of the translations printed in the following pages.

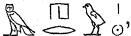
In the best papyri of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, e.g., the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Papyrus

of Nu, the Chapters are preceded by a large Vignette, in which we see a figure of the great god Osiris seated upon his throne. He is in the form of a mummy, wears the White Crown, and holds a crook and a flail or whip in his hands. Before him is a table loaded with offerings of all kinds, and, in cases where this end of the papyrus is complete, a figure of the person for whom the papyrus was written is seen standing in adoration before the god. Immediately following this Vignette comes the text of the Chapters, whether with or without Vignettes. In the papyri which belong to the period of the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, the Chapters are preceded by two or more Hymns and by a large Judgment Scene. Thus in the Papyrus of Ani we have a Hymn to Rā at sunrise and a Hymn to Osiris; in the Papyrus of Qenna we have two Hymns to Rā at sunrise, but in the Papyrus of Hu-Nefer there is one Hymn only. In all three papyri the Hymns, or Hymn, to Rā are followed by elaborately-painted Judgment Scenes. Now, strictly speaking, the Judgment Scene belongs to Chapter CXXV., where it actually occurs, though in a very simple form. In the Papyrus of Ani (see Negative Confession, Chapter CXXV.) the heart of the deceased is being weighed against the feather of Maāt by Anubis, who scrutinizes the tongue of the balance with great care; close to the pillar of the scales is the monster Ām-mit, who is ready to devour the heart in the event of its being found light.

At the beginning of the Papyrus of Ani the Judgment Scene is much developed. The scales are represented as before, with the heart in one pan and the feather in the other, and Anubis conducts the operation of weighing. Ām-mit is also present, but he now appears to be associated with Thoth, the Scribe of the Gods, who is noting on his writing palette with a long reed pen the result of the weighing of the heart. The heart of Ani is now accompanied by his soul, and by Shai, the god of destiny, or perhaps his own destiny, or luck, and by the two goddesses Renenet and Meskhenet. Moreover, twelve deities are seated near the scales, and these await the report of Thoth, their righteous scribe. Ani himself is also present, with his wife, and he addresses to his heart the words of Chapter XXXB. In some papyri two Companies of Gods, the Great and the Little, are represented as being present at the weighing of the heart of the deceased, and in others Maat, the goddess of Truth, superintends the operation instead of Anubis. Altogether the scales appear in three places in the Book of the Dead, i.e., in the Vignettes of Chapters XXXB. and CXXV., and in the introductory Vignette to the whole work described above.

CHAPTER I.

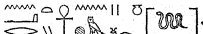
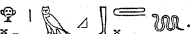

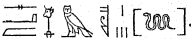


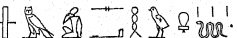
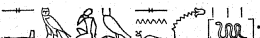
This is the first of the Chapters of PERT EM HRU,
, i.e., of "The Coming Forth by

Day," or perhaps "into the Day," as some authorities would render the words , the allusion being to the well-known belief of the ancient Egyptians that the journey to the Other World occupied the deceased the whole night of the day of his death, and that he did not emerge into the realms of the blessed until the following morning at sunrise. This Chapter was recited by the priest who accompanied the funeral procession to the tomb, and as he walked at its head he declared to the dead man that he was Thoth, and the Great God, and that he had the power to do on his behalf all that he and Horus did for Osiris, to slaughter all his enemies in the Other World, to perform all the symbolic ceremonies which were performed for Osiris at his burial, and to obtain for him a regular and never-failing supply of offerings in the tomb.



CHAPTER I.B.

The object of this Chapter was to enable the *Sāhu*, or spiritual form of the deceased, which appears to have consisted of one or more of his souls, his intelligence, and his vital power, to enter into the *Tuat*, or Other World, immediately after his body was laid in its tomb. It contains a prayer to the dweller in the Holy Mountain for deliverance from the "worms which are in Re-stau," i.e., the serpents which guarded the

corridors in the kingdom of the god Seker, situated near the modern district called Şakḳārah, "which lived upon the bodies of men and of women, and fed upon their blood," and the "Lord of light" is entreated to swallow them up. In the Papyrus of Iuân, which was recently discovered by Mr. Theodore M. Davis at Thebes, we find a form of this Chapter in which the names of the "worms" are given, and a Vignette wherein they are depicted.¹ They are nine in number, and are called :—

1. Nārti-ānkh-em-sen-f,  [ua].
2. Ḥer-f-em-qeb-f, .
3. Ānkh-em-fentu, .
4. Sām-em-qesu, .
5. Ha-huti-ām-sau, .
6. Shep-thmesu, .
7. Ām-sāḥu, .
8. Sām-em-snef, .

¹ *Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*, ed. Naville, pl. xix.

9. Ānkh - em - betu - mit, 
.

According to the Rubric this Chapter established the deceased in the Other World, and ensured his admission into the Boat of Rā.

CHAPTER II.

In this Chapter he who shines from the Moon, i.e., Horus or Osiris, is entreated to give the deceased power to leave the Other World, and to appear upon the earth again to do his will among the living.

CHAPTER III.

Of similar import to the preceding. Temu, the primeval god of the night sun, who appears in the form of his children the Twin-gods, i.e., Shu and Tefnut, is entreated to let the deceased enter into the assembly of the gods. For he is re-born day after day, like Rā, the Sun-god, he lives again, and the gods shall rejoice in his appearances on earth just as they rejoice when Ptah appears in Het-Ser, the great temple of Heliopolis.

CHAPTER IV.

This Chapter contains the words of power which enabled the deceased to pass through that portion of the sky wherein the Two Combatants, i.e., Horus and Set, contended for victory. They were separated by Thoth, who gave to the former power over the Day, and to the latter power over the Night.

CHAPTER V.




This Chapter is a formula which enabled the deceased to "lift up the hand of the inert one," and to make him do work for him.

CHAPTER VI.

Throughout a large portion of Africa it was, and still is, the custom to bury alive with dead kings a number of slaves, whose souls were intended to go into the Other World, and to wait upon the soul of their king as they waited upon his body in this world. In dynastic times the Egyptians dropped this barbarous custom, and substituted figures (*ushabtiu*) of men and women made of stone, wood, faïence, &c., on which they at first only cut the names of the persons for whom they were made. Subsequently they cut on the

figures a formula, in which they called upon them to do any work which might require to be done in the Other World, especially in connection with agriculture. When called upon by the deceased the figures inscribed with his name turned into full-grown men or women, who followed their master, and did all that he commanded them to do. The number of *ushabtiu* figures found in a tomb is sometimes very large; some 700 were taken from the tomb of Seti I. In another tomb 365 were found, and from the inscriptions on some of these it is clear that each figure was intended to do all the work required on one day in the year. The word *shabti* is probably derived from a primitive African word for a funerary human sacrifice.

CHAPTER VII.

The path of Râ and of all good spirits on their way from darkness into light, or from night to day, was obstructed by several monster serpents; the chief of these was Āpep,   . This Chapter contains a spell which, when recited properly by the deceased, made Āpep powerless to block his progress, and enabled him to use the body of Āpep as a road whereby he could reach his destination. In the text Āpep is addressed as a "creature of wax," and these words contain an allusion to the wax figures of the

monster which were burned at regular intervals in a fire of *khesau* grass by a priest, who recited appropriate spells whilst the figures were being consumed (see my *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 81 ff.).

CHAPTER VIII.

This Chapter enabled the deceased to obtain the power of Thoth and Horus, to identify himself with Osiris, and to pass through Amentet as did that god, and to renew his life like the Moon.

CHAPTER IX.

This Chapter enabled the deceased to pass through Amentet and to enter the light of day, having seen Osiris his father, and having stabbed Set. He then addressed the great Soul-god, who had the form of a ram, and having become a spiritual being (*sāhu*) and a *khu*-soul, he was in a fit state to greet every god and every fellow *khu*.

CHAPTER X.

This Chapter caused the deceased to be taken in charge by the great Khu-soul of the Other World, and to be identified with him. He was thereby enabled to cleave the horizon and the heavens, to pass through the

earth, and to eat food again. In the Papyrus of Ani the Vignette shows us the deceased in the act of spearing a serpent, the typical form of the enemies of the dead, but in the Papyrus of Iuâu (pl. xi.) the deceased is seen driving a short spear into the back of the neck of a human foe, who is kneeling before him and has his hands tied at the elbows behind his back.

CHAPTER XI.

In this Chapter the deceased declares himself to be Râ, and by means of it he obtained the power of walking and talking; being endued with the attributes of Horus and Ptaḥ, and the might of Thoth and the strength of Tem, he was able to destroy all his enemies.

CHAPTER XII.

This Chapter assisted the deceased to go into and out of the Other World, and to pass through the secret gates which stood between the Âmentet and this world. The gates stood hard by the Balance of Râ in which Truth was used as the testing weight daily. The previous Chapters gave the deceased new life and the full use of his limbs, and this Chapter gave him the power to prolong his life into old age.

CHAPTER XIII.


Through this Chapter the deceased identifies himself with the hawk of Horus and the *Bennu* bird, which later Greek tradition pronounced to be the fabulous bird the Phoenix. He was henceforth able to go to the estate of Horus and hunt with his greyhounds, and so enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The Rubric associates this Chapter with two rings, which were to be fastened to the right ear of the deceased on the day of his burial.

CHAPTER XIV.

This Chapter contains a prayer that the god who dwells among mysteries may remove from him sin, wickedness, and transgressions, so that he may be at peace with him, and feel no shame of him in his heart.

CHAPTER XV.

This section of the Book of the Dead contains Hymns and Praisings to the Sun-god, some of which were sung in the morning and some in the evening. The Papyrus of Ani includes in it a very interesting Litany to Osiris of nine verses, each of which is addressed to one of the forms of the god; this is found in no other papyrus.

The Vignettes are interesting, for they represent the solar disk, supported on "life," rising on the Mountain of Sunrise out of the Tet, , the symbol of Osiris, and descending in the form of a hawk into the Mountain of the Sunset. With him are the holy apes who sing praises to him, and represent the spirits who were created daily to praise the god at his rising. Isis, a spirit of dawn, and Nephthys, a spirit of twilight, and the Lion-gods of the Morning and Evening are also represented. In these Hymns the glory and power and majesty of the Sun-god are dwelt upon at length, and the words employed make it certain that the Egyptians fully realized the might of the great luminary of day. The Hymns to the Sun-god were written by the priests of Heliopolis, where the cult of the Sun in Egypt originated. African peoples in general do not worship the sun, and it is probable that they have never paid the same degree of homage to it as to the moon. Many African tribes view sunrise with horror, and take pains to hide themselves from the heat of the sun.

CHAPTER XVI.

This Chapter is, strictly speaking, no Chapter, for the section contains only the Vignettes which illustrate the Hymns that form Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XVII.

This is one of the most valuable and important Chapters of the Book of the Dead, for it contains a statement of the doctrines which the beatified spirit of the deceased was expected to know. Like many other sections of the Book of the Dead this Chapter was composed by the priests of Heliopolis, and it represented their views about the nature of the gods. The earliest copies of the Chapter date from the XIth Dynasty, but they are much shorter than those which appear in the Theban papyri; the Chapter is the only known example of an ancient Egyptian exegetical work, and it proves that various opinions as to the meaning of passages in it existed among the learned. A note in the title declares that the knowledge of its contents was most beneficial to a man even whilst still upon the earth. The opening passage is: "I am Tem in rising
"I am the only One. I came into being in Nu. I am
"Rā who rose in the beginning, the ruler of what he
"made."

On this comes the question: "Who is this?" i.e.,
"What does this mean?"

The answer is: "It is Rā who rose in the city of
"Suten-Henen in primeval time crowned like a king.
"He was on the height of the Dweller in Khemennu
"before the pillars of Shu (i.e., the pillars of heaven)
"were made."

This passage was intended to show that Rā was the oldest of the gods, and that he was identical with Temu, an indigenous solar god of Egypt. Other examples are:—

I. "I am purified in my great double nest which is
"in Suten-henen on the day of the offerings of the
"followers of the great god who is therein."

Question: "What is this?"

Answer: "The name of one nest is 1. 'Millions of
"years,' and of the other, 'Great Green Lake,'
"or,

2. "'Traverser of Millions of years,' and
"'Great Green Lake,' or,

3. "'Begetter of Millions of years,' and
"'Great Green Lake.'"

"The god who dwelleth therein is Rā him-
"self."

II. "I am the divine Soul which dwelleth in the
divine Twin-gods."

Question: "Who is this?"

Answer: "It is Osiris. He goeth to Taṭṭu, and
"findeth there the Soul of Rā, each god em-
"braceth the other, and the divine Souls
"spring into being within the divine Twin-
"gods."

The Twin-gods are:—

Heru-netch-hrā-tef-f and Heru-khent-ān-
maati.

The double divine Soul is:—

1. The Soul of Rā and the Soul of Osiris,
or,
2. The Soul of Shu and the Soul of Tefnut.

III. "Hail, Kheperā in thy boat! Deliver thou the
"Osiris from the Watchers who give judgment.
"I have never done the things which the gods hate, for
"I am pure in the Mesqet. Cakes and saffron have
"been brought unto him in Tanenet."

Question: "Who is this?"

Answer: "It is Kheperā in his boat. It is Rā
"himself.

"The Watchers are Isis and Nephthys.

"The things which the gods hate are wickedness
"and falsehood.

"He to whom cakes are brought is Osiris.




"The saffron cakes are:—

1. "Heaven and earth, or,
2. "Shu, or,
3. "The Eye of Horus.

"Tanenet is the burial-place of Osiris."

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the Introduction to this Chapter in the Papyrus
of Ani the deceased is presented to the gods of the
great cities of Egypt by the priest Ân-mut-f, and by a

priest who assumes the character of the Sa-mer-f, or the "son who loveth him." The former states that Ani has committed no sin, and the latter asks that water, air, and an estate in the Field of Peace (or of Offerings) may be given to him. Each priest wears a leopard-skin, the tail of which hangs down between his legs. The title *Ān-mut-f*, , means "pillar of his mother," but this may be a later corruption of the older title "*Ān-kenemet*," , the "pillar of *kenemet*," i.e., the "pillar of the ape." It is interesting to note that in one place¹ the priestly title *Ān-mut-f*, , has for its determinative the figure of a priest wearing a leopard-skin and holding one of the forepaws of an ape, which stands on its hind legs. Through a similarity in sound between *kenemet*, "ape," and *mut*, "mother," the latter word in later times took the place of the former, and had reference to the ape referred to in the earlier title. What exactly is to be understood by the words "pillar of his mother," or what part the ape played in connection with the priest, cannot at present be said.

The Chapter proper contains ten addresses to Thoth, in which that god is entreated to make the deceased victorious over his enemies as he made Osiris to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the groups of gods of the ten chief mythological localities

¹ Griffith, *Beni Hasan*, III. 27.

in Egypt, on ten important occasions in the history of Osiris. The ten localities are:—

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ännu (Heliopolis). | 6. Äbtu (Abydos). |
| 2. Taṭṭu (Busiris). | 7. The place of judgment. |
| 3. Sekhem (Latopolis). | 8. Taṭṭu (Mendes). |
| 4. Pe-Ṭep (Buto). | 9. Än-ruṭ-f. |
| 5. The Rekhti lands. | 10. Re-stau. |

The gods of these localities are:—

1. Tem, Shu, Tefnut.
2. Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Heru-netch-hrä-tef-f.
3. Heru-khenti-än-maati, Thoth.
4. Horus, Isis, Kesthä,¹ Häpi.
5. Horus, Isis, Kesthä.
6. Osiris, Isis, Äp-uat.
7. Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, Ästennu
8. Three gods unnamed.
9. Rā, Osiris, Shu, Behi.
10. Horus, Osiris, Isis.

CHAPTER XIX.

In late times this Chapter, which is a repetition of the preceding with a few additions, was recited twice at dawn, whilst the priest laid a "beautiful crown of victory which was woven by Tem" upon the brow of the deceased, and whilst incense was cast into the fire

¹ Formerly read *Mesthä*.

on his behalf. The Chapter was regarded as a spell of great and never-failing power, and it was declared that when Horus recited it four times, "all his enemies fell headlong, and were overthrown and cut to pieces."

CHAPTER XX.

This Chapter is a shortened form of Chapter XVIII. arranged as a Litany, and its recital by a man who had cleansed himself in water wherein natron had been dissolved, enabled him to take any form he pleased, and to escape injury by fire.

CHAPTER XXI.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the "pure spirit" the use of his mouth and the power to speak with his lips, and brought back to him his heart.

CHAPTER XXII.

The object of this Chapter is the same as the preceding, i.e., to give back to the deceased his mouth that he might speak therewith in the presence of the Great God (Osiris). Its Vignette is of considerable interest, for in it the "guardian of the Scales,"



is represented in the act of

touching the lips of the deceased with the fingers of his right hand, instead of with the instrument *Ur-heka*. The god on the top of the steps is, no doubt, Osiris. The earliest representation of the god on the top of the steps is found on a wooden plaque in the British Museum (Fourth Egyptian Room, Table-case L, No. 124), which belongs to the period of the reign of king Ten (*Senti-Hesepti*). The god is also figured on the sarcophagus of Seti I.¹


CHAPTER XXIII.

This Chapter also deals with the "opening of the mouth" of the deceased, who is supposed to be in the state of a mummy with swathings around his head, which press upon and cover up his mouth. These hindrances to speech are attributed to the operation of Set, the foe of Horus and Osiris, and the deceased beseeches Thoth, the arch-magician, to unloose the swathings, and entreats Tem to hurl them in the faces of those who would fetter him with them. Ancient legends asserted that Ptaḥ untied the swathings which fettered the mouths of the gods, and that Shu opened their mouths with an iron knife. The ceremonies connected with the "opening the mouth" are very ancient, and were certainly performed for the benefit of the dead under the Vth Dynasty. At first they were

¹ See my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. ii., p. 159.

performed on the dead body, but subsequently a statue of the deceased was substituted for it. In the Vignette in the Papyrus of Ani a priest is seen performing the ceremonies on a statue of Ani. The Book of Opening the Mouth was discovered by Schiaparelli, who was the first to call the attention of scholars to it.¹

CHAPTER XXIV.

The object of this Chapter was to provide the deceased with *hekaru* , "words of power," that is to say, with magical formulae, the recital of which will enable him to carry out all his wishes and supply all his needs. The deceased demands the words of power which Osiris knew and used, because he has become identified with Tem-Kheperà, the self-produced god.

CHAPTER XXV.

The recital of this Chapter gave back to the deceased his memory and the faculty of remembering not only his own name, but the name of any god whom he met. It was associated with a ceremony in which a priest held up before the face of the deceased a figure of him

¹ See his *Il Libro dei Funerali*, 2 vols., with volume of texts. The principal texts, with English translations, have also been published in my *Opening of the Mouth*, 2 vols., London, 1909.


so that he might give it his name. The soul without a name was in a terrible plight in the Other World, for its name was an integral part of its being, and if it had forgotten its name, and there was no one there to remind it what it was, it could not be presented to the Great God. No greater harm could be done to the deceased than the erasing of his name from his monuments, for the destruction of his name was equivalent to the destruction of his individuality.

CHAPTER XXVI.

With the opening of the mouth and the restoration of the memory was closely associated the "giving of a heart" to the deceased. The heart was one of the most important organs of the body, not only from a physical point of view, but because it was the seat of one of the members of the dual soul which the Egyptian believed he possessed. The relation between the heart and the soul is well illustrated by the Vignettes to this Chapter, for in one the god Anubis is seen giving a heart to the deceased, and in the other the deceased is addressing a human-headed hawk, which was the corporeal form taken by the heart-soul. Hundreds of passages in the texts prove that it was the heart-soul which partook of offerings placed in the tomb, and in the text of this Chapter it is said, "May my heart be with me, and "may it rest there, [or] I shall not eat of the cakes of

"Osiris on the eastern side of the Lake of Flowers." So soon as the heart was restored to his body, the deceased recovered the use of all his limbs, and the heart-soul was free to leave the body at the gates of the Other World.

CHAPTER XXVII.

This Chapter was written to give the deceased the means of preventing his heart from being stolen from him in the Other World. It is a common belief all through Equatorial Africa and the Sûdân that the heart-soul of a man can be bewitched out of him by magical ceremonies, and that once this soul has left him the heart itself will quickly die, and his body also. It is said that every medicine man is acquainted with means by which these disastrous results can be effected, and the belief in the possibility of human beings being injured in this way is so widespread in the Sûdân that we are justified in assuming that the practice of bewitching the heart is one of very great antiquity. In this Chapter the deceased beseeches the "stealers and crushers of hearts" not to take into account in their dealing with his heart the things which he did, and the "lords of eternity" are entreated not to let evil words rise up against it. In the older Vignette the deceased stands by the side of his heart, which is placed on a pedestal, , in the presence of four gods,

who are seated on the symbol of Truth; in the later Vignette from the Turin Papyrus these four gods are identified with the Four Sons of Horus. The heart being restored to him, the deceased becomes master of his own body and of its members.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

This chapter is addressed to a monster in human form, with a tail, who grasps a large knife in his right hand, and holds his tail by its root in his left; the deceased is seated before him in a deprecating attitude, and clasps his heart to his breast with his left hand. The monster has a shaggy mane and whiskers round his face, and his general appearance suggests that he was intended to represent a gorilla or chimpanzee *with a tail*, though the deceased addresses him as the "Lion-god." The beings who the deceased fears will carry off his heart are the "fighting gods in Ánnu (Heliopolis)," and Set, the god of evil.

CHAPTER XXIX., XXIX.A AND B.

This chapter, which is extant in three forms, contains other formulae for preventing the heart of the deceased from being carried away from him, and in the longest form he identifies himself with the "Lord of

"hearts, the slayer of the heart," and with Horus, the dweller in hearts. The third form was associated with an amulet of the heart made of carnelian, and in it the deceased identifies himself with the Bennu bird, who, like Thoth, was believed to be the heart of Rā. The mention of the *kanu*, or doubles, of the gods proves that the heart was believed to be closely connected with the *ka* as well as with one of the souls of man.

CHAPTER XXX., XXX.A AND XXX.B.

This Chapter is one of the most important in the Book of the Dead, and it is unquestionably one of the oldest. It is found in all great papyri which have not been mutilated, and is cut upon hundreds of hard green stone scarabs; the commonest form is that which is called XXXB. The text consists of an address by the deceased to his heart, in which he entreats that:—

1. No one may oppose him in the Judgment before the *Tchatcha*, or Divine Taskmasters.
2. His heart may not leave him.
3. The *Sheniu*, or chief gods of Osiris, may not cause his name to stink.
4. False witness may not be borne against him.
5. A verdict of righteous may be entered for him after his heart has been weighed.

In the course of his petition he says to the heart,

"Thou art my KA, the dweller in me, Khnemu who "knitteth together and strengtheneth my limbs," and he asks it to go with him into felicity. This is an important passage, for it proves how intimate was the connection of the heart with the KA. The rubrics to this Chapter are very interesting. They order that the words shall be said over a green stone scarab mounted in silver-gold, and suspended by a ring from the neck of the deceased. This scarab, one side of which was frequently made in the shape of a heart, was placed either inside the body where the heart was before it was removed during the process of mummification, or over the place of the heart on the breast, after the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" had been performed. As to the origin of the Chapter there are two traditions: according to the one it was "found" cut upon a stone (?) slab under the feet of a statue of the god Thoth in the reign of Senti-Hesepti, a king of the 1st Dynasty, and according to the other it was "found" by Prince Herutātāf, the son of King Khufu. The older tradition states that it had been cut on the slab by Thoth himself. Here, then, is a proof that the text of this Chapter was believed to be of divine origin, and it is certain that the formulae in it were thought to possess very great power. The Vignettes in several papyri connect them with the weighing of the heart in the presence of Osiris, and in the large pictures of the Judgment Scene they are always assumed to be recited by the deceased whilst his heart is actually in the

Scales. Now the pictures of the Judgment Scene illustrate beliefs which were universal in Egypt some two thousand years before it became the custom to illustrate the sacred texts, and it is clear that during the whole Dynastic Period, i.e., for a period of about four thousand years, the Egyptian entered the Judgment Hall of Osiris believing implicitly that the words which he was about to utter would secure for him a verdict of righteousness, and, in consequence, everlasting life in felicity.

CHAPTER XXXI.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased was able to frustrate the designs of the monster Sui, which came in the forms of three or four crocodiles to carry off from him the words of power which he had obtained, or the heart-amulet on which they were cut. Only by stealing such words of power could Sui live. The recital of this Chapter made the incisor teeth of the deceased like flints, and his molars like the name of Anubis. In the later version of the Chapter the deceased describes the offices which the words of power enabled him to fill. He was the scribe of the offerings of Osiris and priest in the regions above. Moreover, he was born with Osiris, and he opened the mouth of the gods with the Meskhet (i.e., Thigh) instrument. He was perfect, and strong, and able to avenge wrongs


done to him, and he was master of the four quarters of heaven and earth.

CHAPTER XXXII.

This Chapter enabled the deceased to repulse the four crocodiles of the West, East, South and North, and to assume the attributes of the gods Set, Osiris, Sept, and Uatch-Merti, who presided over the four quarters of the earth respectively. Curiously enough, the opening paragraph mentions the "Eight Crocodiles," the names of which are known to the deceased, who is therefore able to repulse them, or to render them powerless to do him harm by casting spells on them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

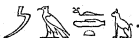

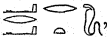
Among the foes of the deceased in the Other World serpents formed an important class. This Chapter was directed against the monster serpent Rerek, who was only rendered powerless when the deceased pronounced the names of Seb and Shu. The deceased orders Rerek to stand, promising to give him to eat the "mouse,"¹ the abomination of Rā," and the bones of the "filthy cat."²

¹  *penu*, the Coptic ⲛⲓⲗ.

² .

It is difficult to explain the allusion to the "filthy cat," for usually the cat is connected with Rā, the Sun-god.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

This Chapter is also directed against snakes and snake-bites, and by the recital of it the deceased identifies himself with the animal *maftet* . Whether the word *maftet* means "lynx" or not, it is certain that some animal which was inimical to snakes, and was very skilful in destroying them, is referred to. The true lynx is not a native of Africa,¹ and it is probable, as the determinative  suggests, that the *maftet* was a species of wild or hunting cat, perhaps the *felis cervicalis*. The *maftet* is frequently mentioned in the texts of the Ancient Empire, with allusions to its terrible claws. The kind of serpent mentioned in the text is the *ārūrt*, , or cobra, the *οὐραῖος* of the Greeks.


CHAPTER XXXV.

This Chapter was directed against the monster serpent called Seksek, and the other serpents of his class. The allusions in it are hard to understand, and

¹ Lyddeker, *Royal Natural History*, vol. i., p. 436.

suggest that the text was so old when it was copied by the scribes of the XVIIIth Dynasty that parts of it had no meaning for them. This is precisely the case with the formulae against snakes which are found in the Pyramid of Unäs (Vth Dynasty).


CHAPTER XXXVI.

This Chapter contains a spell for keeping away from the dead the insect *Āpshait*, , which is figured correctly in the Vignette to the Chapter in the Papyrus of Nekht. In the Papyrus of Nekhtu-Āmen the *āpshait* is depicted in the form of the *scarabaeus sacer*, but it is clearly an incorrect identification. The creature is undoubtedly a kind of beetle, and I believe it to be the weevil, which is often found crushed between the bandages of mummies, and to belong to the genus *Brachycerus*. Figures of it are often found in a more or less conventionalized form on the objects made by the Bakuba of the Kasai District in the Congo Free State. According to Mr. T. A. Joyce, of the British Museum, the insect which occurs in a most naturalistic form on a carved wooden cup published by him is called *Mutu Jambī*, or "the head of God."¹ A specimen is exhibited in the Department of Ethnography in the British Museum (Table-

¹ See *Man*, vol. ix., No. 1, p. 3.


case 194). It is quite clear that the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties did not know what the *āpshait* was, for whilst one of them thought it was the ordinary *scarabaeus sacer*, another thought it was a *pig*, and wrote *shāā*, and the artist who drew the Vignette actually drew a pig!

CHAPTER XXXVII.


The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to ward off the attacks of two terrible sister-serpents called MERTI, . In the Vignettes the deceased is seen either spearing a serpent or threatening two serpents with a knife, but he relied most of all upon the spell which he cast upon them to render them powerless.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. A AND B.

The formulae of this Chapter were, according to the title, intended to give air to the deceased in the Other World. In form A he identifies himself with Tem, the god of wind and the giver of air, and in form B with the Twin-gods Shu and Tefnut, the gods of the atmosphere. In one Vignette he holds a sail, symbolic of "air," or "wind," and in the other a sail and a knife;

the presence of the three serpents in the second Vignette is difficult to explain. The allusion to the "lily of green felspar," , which blossomed at sunrise under the influence of the cool wind of dawn is peculiarly appropriate to the appearance of the deceased at daybreak in the Other World.


CHAPTER XXXIX.


The recital of this Chapter was intended to free the deceased from the opposition or attack of the monster serpent Rerek, who lived in the darkest part of the Other World and endeavoured to obstruct the passage of Rā the Sun-god, and of the souls who were with him, into the kingdom of day. He had many forms and many names, but the most terrible of all his forms was that which was called Āpep, . He was endowed with immortality, for, although each day the Maftet tore his breast open, and the beams of the sun stabbed him with myriads of darts, and Serqet fettered him, and Hertit bound him in chains, and the gods held him with ropes, and Rekes overthrew him, and Rā clove his head in twain, and he was dismembered and his bones crushed, he came to life again daily and continued his nefarious efforts. His master was Set, the god of evil, and it is interesting to note that the

deceased identifies himself with Set, the lord of the storm and thunder in the heavens.


CHAPTER XL.

This Chapter is a formula directed against another monster serpent, which is called "Eater of the Ass,"

, in the title, and Hai,

, in the text. He attacked the Nesh-

met Boat, and Thoth cut off his head. In the Vignette he is seen in the form of a serpent which has seized an ass by the middle of his back. Now the "Ass" was associated with the Sun-god, and the Eater of the Ass was probably a local form of Āpep which was destroyed daily. He is said to be an abomination to the god Aḥu,

¹ but for what reason is unknown; Aḥu appears to have been a "fighting god," and his original home was probably Syria.

CHAPTER XLI.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to avoid slaughter in the Other World, and to obtain air

¹ I.e., the  of the text of Pepi II., l. 849.

therein at eventide, when he had the power to go and converse with the divine crew who worked the Boat of Rā across the sky day by day. The contents of the Chapter have very little connection with its title, a fact which shows that titles were given by the scribes to ancient formulae, often without proper regard for their accuracy or suitability.

CHAPTER XLII.

This Chapter was also intended to enable the deceased to avoid the slaughter which took place in the Other World. It seems clear from the text that a great slaughter of the souls of the dead took place from time to time in Suten-henen, and the deceased feared that violent hands might be laid on him, and that he might be dragged back by his arms. His only way of escaping any such treatment was to identify each member of his body with or transform it into the similar member of a god. The names of the gods are duly enumerated in a remarkable passage which is a modification of a text found in the Pyramid of Pepi I. (l. 565 ff.). Thus we read:—

“My hair is [the hair of] Nu.

“My face is [the face of] Āten.












“My eyes are [the eyes of] Hathor,” &c.

In the older text the form is somewhat different, and we read:—

"The head of Pepi is the [head of a] hawk (Horus);¹
 "he cometh forth and raiseth himself to
 "heaven.

"The skull of Pepi is the [skull of the] *Khas* bird
 "of the god; he cometh forth and raiseth
 "himself to heaven," &c.

The members and the gods in the Pyramid of Pepi I.
 are as follows:—

- | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1.  | head. | Horus(?). |
| 2.  | skull. | Khas bird. |
| 3.  | [neck]. | Nu. |
| 4.  | face. | Ap-uatu. |
| 5.  | two eyes. | Great Ones of Annu. |
| 6.  | nose. | Thoth. |
| 7.  | mouth. | Khens-ur. |
| 8.  | tongue. | The maâ beam of the
Maât Boat. |
| 9.  | teeth. | Souls of Annu. |
| 10.  | lips. | ..... |
| 11.  | chin. | Khert-Khent-Sekhem |

¹ Or, "The head of Pepi is as the hawk," &c.

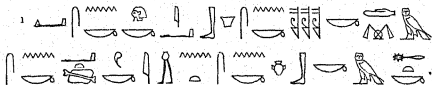
12.		backbone.	Sma.
13.		shoulders.	Set.
14.		[breast].	Baābu,
15.		heart.	Bastet,
16.		belly.	Nut.
17.		[reins].	Two Companies of gods
18.		lower part of back.	Heqet.
19.		buttocks.	The boats Semktet and Māt.
20.		phallus.	Hāpi.
21.		thighs.	Net and Serqet.
22.		legs.	The two Tcherti (?).
23.		soles.	The double Maāt Boat
24.		heel (?).	Souls of Annu.

The transformations of his members having been effected the deceased says, "there is no member of my "body which is not the member of a god," or, as the text of Pepi I. reads, "Pepi is a god, the son of a god." The text next identifies the deceased with Rā, and

Horus, and Osiris Un-nefer, and he becomes the "only One who proceedeth from an only One." The section of this Chapter which provides for the deification of the members was a very favourite one with the Egyptians, and, in a tabular form, it was copied on papyri down to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

CHAPTER XLIII.

This Chapter refers to the dismemberment of the bodies of the dead which took place in ancient times, and its recital prevented the head of the deceased from being cut off in the Other World. The excavations which have been made in recent years on pre-dynastic sites in Egypt prove beyond all doubt that in primitive times the bodies of the dead were cut into pieces before burial, no doubt in accordance with the religious beliefs which were then current. Osiris himself suffered dismemberment, but we learn from the texts in the royal Pyramids at Şakkârah that the goddess Mut gave him back his head, and presented his bones to him, and collected the flesh which had been sliced off him, and brought back his heart and placed it in his body.¹ The reconstituting



Pepi I., l. 110.

of the body of Osiris was commemorated annually at Abydos by a solemn festival, during which, in a sort of miracle play, every step in the process was acted by priests and their assistants. The crowning scene was the erection of the backbone of Osiris and the placing of the head of the god upon it. The formulae of this Chapter identified the deceased with Osiris, and assured him therefore of the possession of his head. As the cult of Osiris grew and spread in Egypt in early dynastic times the practice of dismembering the body gradually fell into disuse, and at length the only portions of the body which were removed from it during the process of embalming were the viscera, and these were mummified separately.

CHAPTER XLIV.

This Chapter proves the existence of a very curious belief among the Egyptians, i.e., that it was possible for a being in the Other World to die a second time. The animal soul of the deceased in the Other World lived on the souls of the offerings which were made at regular intervals in the tomb wherein his body was laid, and if for any reason the supply of offerings failed that soul suffered greatly. It was driven by hunger to wander about in the deserts seeking food, and for a time it might prolong its existence by devouring offal and





drinking dirty water, but unless the supply of offerings was renewed it certainly starved to death. It seems also that the soul might suffer death in the Other World if it incurred the displeasure of the Tchatcha and Sheniū chiefs who administered the kingdom of Osiris, and that in such a case it was destroyed along with the souls of the wicked. The only beings who were superior to this possibility were Rā and Osiris, and this Chapter enabled the deceased to identify himself with them; this effected, he declares boldly, "I am "crowned king of the gods, I shall not die a second "time in the Other World."

CHAPTER XLV.

The object of this Chapter is made quite clear by the Rubric: if it be known by the deceased he shall not suffer corruption in the Other World. The formula is supposed to be addressed to the god Anubis, and in it the deceased entreats that god to fashion his mummy as if he were fashioning that of Osiris himself. Anubis is often called "Ām-ut," i.e., "he who is in the place of "embalment." To Anubis was attributed the knowledge of the art of embalming, and he was skilled in the use of balms, balsams, unguents and medicaments, and was an expert in the swathing of mummies. It was he who mummified the body of Osiris, and he did


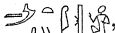
his work so well that the body of the god did not crumble away, or decay, or fall to pieces.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the deceased the power to rise up like the Henmemet, , or , a class of beings who are frequently mentioned in religious texts of all periods. Their place of abode was heaven, but some portion of their period of existence may have been passed on earth. The recital of this Chapter also set at liberty the BA, , or heart-soul of the deceased, which, as we have already seen, could die a second time, and the soul, here represented in the form of a BENNU bird, , which was immortal.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The recital of this Chapter prevented the seat and throne of the deceased from being taken away from him in the Other World. In the Vignette we see the heart-soul and the soul in the same forms as in the preceding Chapter, one on each side of a funerary building, from which they appear to have emerged.

The text suggests that each soul desired to have reserved for it an abode wherein it might seek shelter if necessary. In the second version of the Chapter the deceased asserts that he is a *sāh*, , i.e., that he has attained to spiritual existence, and that he is the son of Maāti, , who hates lies.





CHAPTERS XLVIII. AND XLIX.

These Chapters have already been discussed as Chapters X. and XI.

CHAPTER L.A AND L.B.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to avoid the terrible block of slaughter of the god Osiris, a figure of which is given in the Vignette. From the Book *Am-Tuat* and the Book of Gates, as well as from the Book of the Dead, we learn that to certain gods was assigned the duty of destroying the dead and consuming their bodies. Some were cast into a lake of liquid fire or boiling water, and others were first cut in pieces and then burnt.¹ Each of the gods who cut the dead in pieces was provided with a block, and they performed their terrible work under the direction of

¹ See my *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. iii., p. 137.

the headsman of Osiris, whose name was Shesmu:  , or  , as the name is written in the Pyramid Texts. The slaughter of the wicked and the cutting up of their bodies were performed nightly, soon after Osiris had completed the judging of those who had entered the Hall of Maāti.

CHAPTER LI.

The connection of the title with this Chapter is not clear. In the text the deceased declares that he will not eat what is an abomination to him, and prays that he may not be forced to eat filth in place of the sepulchral cakes which are usually offered to the KAU, or Doubles, in their tombs, or to touch it, or even to walk on it in his sandals.

CHAPTER LII.

This Chapter is an amplification of the preceding, and in the latter part of it we are told exactly what food the deceased wishes to eat in the Other World, and under what conditions he wishes to live there. He would partake of the seven loaves which Horus eats and of the bread which Thoth eats, seated under the branches of the Sycamore Tree of Hathor (or Nut), at

the time when the souls of the beatified have alighted thereon. His bread must be made from white grain, and his beer (the modern *marissa*) from red grain, he would have the ancestors¹ of his father and mother to attend to his domestic affairs, he would watch his crops growing, and enjoy health and strength, and would have plenty of space in which to move about, and be able to dwell where he pleased. A much fuller version of this Chapter will be found in the second edition of the Egyptian text, p. 160 ff., where it is called Chapter LII.B. In the first edition it stood as No. CLXXXIX. For the translation see p. 639.

CHAPTER LIII.

The recital of this Chapter prevented the deceased from being tripped up during his journeyings in the Other World, and from the necessity of eating filth and drinking urine. The beginning and end of the Chapter are not found in the other Chapters which were written with the same object as this. In this text the deceased states that he will live upon the heavenly food of Rā and the earthly food of Seb, and that his loaves shall be brought to him by the Sektet and Âtet Boats in

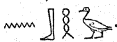
¹ *Abtu* , literally, "fathers"; compare *אבות*.

which Rā sails across the heavens from sunrise to sunset.

CHAPTER LIV.

The recital of this Chapter brought to the deceased the "sweet breath which" dwelt in the nostrils of Tem. He identifies himself with the great Egg, which was created by the earth-god Seb and thrust through the earth in the city of the Great Cackler. As the Egg lives he lives, and as it grows old he grows old.

CHAPTER LV.


By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with the "Jackal of jackals," and with Shu, the god of the atmosphere, and thus was able to roam with the fleetness of the jackal from one end of heaven to the other, and to the ends of the earth, and to the limit of the flight of the Nebeh goose, .

CHAPTER LVI.

In this Chapter, as in Chapter LIV., the deceased identifies his life with that of the Egg of the Great

Cackler; his birth is its birth, his life is its life, and his breath is its breath.

CHAPTER LVII.

The recital of this Chapter gave the deceased "dominion over the water," that is, enabled him to obtain a full and constant supply from Ḥāp-ur, "the Great Nile," and air from every quarter of the earth. By it also he gained the power to breathe freely in Mendes or Busiris, and a settled abode in the celestial Ānu (Heliopolis), where he had his house. The plan of the house was made by the goddess , whose name is read Sesheta or Sefkhet-ābut, and its walls were built by the god Khnemu.

CHAPTER LVIII.

This Chapter is also connected, according to the title, with the dominion of the deceased over the water and the air. The text, however, suggests that the deceased is trying to obtain admission into a portion of the Other World, and that he has with him the two Merti goddesses. A being, name unknown, asks him his name, &c., and apparently provides him with a magical boat, which he is allowed to use provided he knows

its name and the names of the oars, rudder, rudder-post, &c.

CHAPTER LIX.

The recital of this Chapter secured for the deceased the air and water which were in the gift of the goddess Nut, who, according to the Vignette, lived in the Sycamore Tree of heaven. The text mentions the Egg of the Great Cackler already noticed, and the first part of the Chapter undoubtedly has reference to the worship of certain trees, which at one time was common in the Sûdân. Such trees were supposed to be the abodes of spirits who, when placated by offerings, bestowed gifts upon those who prayed at their feet.

CHAPTER LX.

The recital of this Chapter caused the gods Thoth and Hâp (Nile) to open the gates of heaven and let the deceased into the "Land of cool water," where he was able to drink to his heart's content.

CHAPTER LXI.

The connection of the title of this Chapter with the text is not clear. The deceased identifies himself with the god of the celestial water, which appears on this

earth in the form of the Nile, and there is no allusion to any attempt being made to snatch away his heart-soul from him. Its departure from him in quest of water may, however, be referred to; this might be a serious matter for the deceased, for the heart-soul might not return, and then his body would die.


CHAPTER LXII.

The contents of this Chapter resemble those of Chapter LII. In the Vignette we see the deceased washing his hands in a stream preparatory to drinking water out of them, and the allusions to Rā, the Lion-god, and the Bull suggest that the recital of the Chapter gave him the power to wander about in Sekhet-Āaru, and drink from every stream there at will.

CHAPTER LXIII. A AND B.

In version A of this Chapter the deceased prays not to be burned or destroyed by fire, but it is not clear whether by fire he refers to material fire or boiling water, or to burning thirst, or to scalding by boiling water. The Vignette suggests that the recital of the Chapter was intended to secure for him a regular supply of the cool, fresh water of heaven, which he would drink from a bowl as he sat by the side of a

lake. The title of version B, "Of not being scalded," is more definite than that of A, and it is clear that the Chapter was written to prevent the possibility of the deceased's drinking boiling water in the Other World. The Book of Gates mentions a "boiling lake,"

, the waters of which were cool and pleasant to the gods who lived on its shores, but which were veritable fire to the wicked when they attempted to drink them, and which destroyed their bodies.¹ The idea of this boiling lake was derived from the hot springs of bituminous water which are found in certain places in the Western Desert.

CHAPTER LXIV.

This very remarkable Chapter occurs in two versions, one long and one short; it is one of the oldest texts in the Book of the Dead, and the two traditions about its antiquity assign it to the 1st and IVth Dynasties. The title of the longer version is "Chapter of Coming Forth by Day in the Other World," and the shorter, "Chapter of knowing the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day in a single Chapter." Thus it seems that this Chapter was supposed to contain in it the essence of the whole Book of the Dead, and according to the Rubrics it constituted a "great and divine protection"

¹ See my *Book of Gates*, p. 109.

to the deceased. If he knew it he was victorious both upon earth and in heaven, he passed through every gate of the Other World without let or hindrance, he performed successfully every transformation he wished to make, and he obtained everlasting life. The formulae which constitute the Chapter are of a highly mystical character, and the recital of them gave to the deceased the power to identify himself with all the great gods, and to make use of all their attributes as he pleased for his own benefit. It was all-important that the man who recited this Chapter should be ceremonially clean and pure, and the Rubric orders that for some time previous to its recital he was to abstain from the use of meats, and fish, and women; but there is no reason for assuming that he was to observe a strict fast. In connection with this Chapter it is further ordered that the formulae which are now generally known as Chapter XXX.B be recited over a green stone scarab, set in a gold mount and anointed with myrrh, and placed in the breast of a man to perform for him the "Opening of the Mouth." It is clear from the above that the recital of the LXIVth Chapter was a very solemn matter.

CHAPTER LXV.

The recital of this Chapter gave the deceased dominion over all his enemies, and enabled him to triumph

over Set and his friends and infernal watchers, who lay in wait nightly to destroy Rā as he was emerging from the Tuat and the souls of the blessed which were in his train. The deceased also declares that if he is not permitted to emerge from the Other World, the Nile shall never rise again, and Rā shall never again enter its water, and day shall never more appear [on the earth] at its appointed time. In the Saïte Recension of this Chapter the deceased describes his glorious state in the Other World, and says that his enemies shall be led in before him in a state of misery, that his mother's KA, or double, shall rest because of this, and that he will inflict cuts on their legs with a staff of gold!

CHAPTER LXVI.

By reciting this Chapter the deceased identified himself with the son of Sekhet and Neith, and with Horus and the goddess Uatchet, and was able to perch on the brow of Rā in his boat.

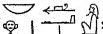
CHAPTER LXVII.

The recital of this Chapter caused passages to be opened for the deceased in heaven and in the air, and enabled him to advance to his throne in the Boat of Rā, and to sit there securely.

CHAPTER LXX.

This Chapter is a further continuation of Chapter LXVIII., and the effect of its recital appears to have been to give the deceased the power of seizing the east and north winds by their hair, the west wind by its body, and the south wind by its eye, and travelling about all four sides of heaven.

CHAPTER LXXI.

This Chapter opens with an address to Nekhen, the lord of the ancient Sky-goddess Meh-urt, who is depicted in the Vignette in the form of a cow with the deceased kneeling in adoration before her. Following this comes a paragraph beginning, "Behold, Neb-hrâ-
 "uâ, , is with me," which was addressed, with modifications, to each of the SEVEN SPIRITS, whose names were:—



1. Netcheh-netcheh.
2. Aatqetqet.
3. Anertānefbesfkhentihet.
4. Āq-her-āmi-unnut-f.
5. Teshenmaatiamihetānes.
6. Ubeshrāperemkhetkhet.
7. Maaemkerhānefemhru.

Or,

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kesthâ. | 5. Maaâteff. |
| 2. Hâpi. | 6. Kheribeqf. |
| 3. Tuamutef. | 7. Herukhentiânmaati. |
| 4. Qebhsennuf. | |

The knowledge of the names of these terrible beings was of vital importance to the deceased, for it was they who cut off the heads of men, and broke their necks and seized their hearts, and performed slaughters at the Lake of Fire, and it enabled him to come forth from the Other World and shine upon his statue, and gave him a "beautiful tomb" (or, burial) with Osiris. This Chapter was, in fact, a mighty protection for him in the Other World.

CHAPTER LXXII.


The recital of this Chapter gave the deceased the power to leave his tomb and to force a path to the place where the gods lived. It supplied him with the name of the god TEKEM, , and it enabled him to travel through Sekhet-Âaru, and eventually to reach Seket-hetep, i.e., the Field of Peace, or, the Field of Offerings. According to the Rubric, the writing of this Chapter on the coffin of the deceased produced the same effect as the recital of it by him. In line 8 there is an allusion to the Mesqet, , or chamber in

which the deceased was reborn, or perhaps annihilated. The Mesqet was originally the skin of a bull in which the deceased was placed, but in later times the word was applied to the Tuat, or Other World, in general. Tradition asserted that Osiris was assisted in preserving his life on one occasion by taking refuge in a bull's skin, and the skin of this bull is usually seen hanging to a pole before Osiris in his shrine in pictures of the Judgment.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

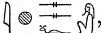





See Chapter IX.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

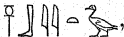
This Chapter contains formulae addressed to Seker, a very ancient god of the dead whose kingdom formed the Other World of the people of Memphis, and is represented to-day by the great necropolis of Şakḳârah. It is possible that the name "Şakḳârah" may be derived from the name of the god Seker, .

The Vignette contains a picture of Henu, the sacred boat on which the shrine containing the god was placed. The recital of this Chapter gave the deceased the power to emerge from his tomb, and to stand on his feet like Seker in his hidden and mysterious abode.

CHAPTER LXXV.

This Chapter is connected with the preceding, and its recital gave the deceased the power to pass from Šakḳārah, on the left bank of the Nile, over, or under, the river to Ānnu (Heliopolis), on the right bank, and to take up his abode in the sanctuary of the great Sun-god, whose home was in that ancient city. On his way thither he passed through the region where reposed the souls of the blessed dead who are referred to in the later sections of the Book Ām-Ṭuat and the Book of Gates, and the gods of that region, Ākhsesef, , and Remrem, , or Kemkem, , afforded him their protection. The magical buckle, , which carried with it the mystical power of the blood of Isis, caused the goddesses Khebent, , and Sekseket, , to be gracious to him, and it placed him in the eastern part of the sky where Rā rose daily.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

The recital of this Chapter secured for the deceased the service of the insect *abit* , which, on account of the assistance that it rendered to him, may be identified with the mantis. He says, "I have come

"into the house of the King through the *abit* which led "me hither." It is a common belief in many parts of Central and South Africa that the mantis acts as guide to the traveller who has lost his way, and the Hottentots say that the insect leads children who have lost themselves in the bush back to their villages and houses. We find that the mantis, the Goliath beetle, and the bee all play a prominent part in the Book of Opening the Mouth, and when we remember the unknown and difficult roads which the deceased had to travel over in the Other World, it is easy to see how important it was for him to be able to take the form of the mantis at pleasure, and find his way back to a place he knew. According to the title this Chapter enabled the deceased to make any transformation, i.e., take any form he pleased.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to take the form of a golden hawk, with wings which were like felspar, and had a spread of four cubits. In this form he could fly to the Boat of Rā and visit any and every part of Sekhet-hetep.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to take the form of the divine hawk, i.e., the hawk which

possessed the powers of Râ himself, and to fly from one end of Egypt to another, and to visit all the great sanctuaries of Râ and Osiris. In this form all the gods of heaven, earth, and the Tuat regarded him with awe, for he possessed the soul of Horus, the Hawk-god *par excellence*. All the mysteries of the gods were laid bare before him, for, the soul of Horus being in him, he became the son of Osiris, the King of the Other World.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

In this Chapter the deceased identifies himself with the "great god who created himself," the lord of life and maker of the gods, and becomes therefore the Ruler of the Tehatcha, or chief administrators of the Kingdom of Osiris. The Tehatcha kept the registers of Osiris and the lists of all who were in his kingdom, and they had the power to give rewards to those who performed their appointed tasks and to punish those who did not. They were, in fact, the celestial judges and magistrates under the direct supervision of Osiris, and their power was absolute and their decrees were final.

CHAPTER LXXX.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased became the "girdle of the robe of Nu," and the great luminary

of heaven who was able to lighten not only the darkness about himself, but also the darkness of all those who were in the Other World, and to lead away the darkness captive. When storms or eclipse overtook the Eye, i.e., the Sun, he rescued the Sun-god from destruction, he weighed Set in the scales against the Aged One, i.e., Rā, and sent him to his doom, and he provided Thoth with all that he needed to make the Moon-god shine in the full moon on his fifteenth day. In short, this Chapter enabled the deceased to transform himself into Light.

CHAPTER LXXXI.A AND B.

In this Chapter the deceased identifies himself with the "pure lily" in the waters of the celestial Ocean out of which Rā, under the name of Nefer-Tem, rose daily. The lily, or lotus, was the symbol, or image, of Nefer-Tem, who, according to Memphite theology, was the son of Ptah and the goddess Sekhet.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

In the preceding Chapter the deceased identifies himself with the son of Ptah, and in this he identifies himself with Ptah, the Blacksmith-god of Thebes,

thereby obtaining funerary offerings in abundance, and the power to become a living being in Ännu (Heliopolis), and a partaker of the existence of Temu, the chief god of that city. Many passages in the Chapter relating to offerings of food and drink are already familiar from Chapter LII., &c.


CHAPTER LXXXIII.

The text of this Chapter does not make clear exactly what advantage would be gained by the deceased from its recital. The Bennu bird, as we have already seen, was regarded as the soul of Rā, and it no doubt possessed faculties and attributes of a remarkable nature, but what these were is not known. The deceased, by the recital of the words of this Chapter, identifies himself with Khensu, an ancient Moon-god, who was regarded as the "great strider" through the night sky. The words, "I have clothed myself like the tortoise (or, turtle)," suggest that the deceased wished to clothe himself in apparel as thick and strong as the shell of the tortoise, so that he might be able to withstand the attacks which birds of the Bennu class might make upon him. The existence of the Rubric seems to show that the ancient editors of the Book of the Dead did not know the exact import of this Chapter.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

This Chapter appears to have some connection with funerary sacrifices and offerings, and its recital probably enabled the deceased to supply himself with such necessary things. The connection of the heron in the Vignette with the formulae to be recited is not clear.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with the Soul of Rā, the Soul which is God, or is Divine, the Soul of the everlasting gods, and with the body of that Soul, which is eternity itself. As the possessor of that Soul the deceased became the counterpart of Nu and Kheperā and the lord of light, i.e., Rā, and the substance of his being was identical with that of the gods. Now the eternal Soul of Rā was also the Soul of Osiris, whose living symbol on earth was the famous Ram-god of Mendes. From the XVIIth Chapter we learn that the Soul of Rā and the Soul of Osiris met in Taṭṭu, and, having joined themselves together in that sacred city, they became the Twin-souls which were known as the TCHAFUI, .

Thus the great god of Taṭṭu possessed a dual soul, one member performing functions which resembled those of the heart-soul (*ba*) in man, and the other having the

characteristics of the spiritual soul (*khau*) in man. In the Vignettes we see an allusion to a play upon words, for the word ram is *ba*, and the word for the heart-soul is *ba*.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the deceased some power possessed by the bird, probably the swallow, which is represented in the Vignette. This bird is said to have rendered service to Isis when she was in trouble, by carrying the news of the calamity which had befallen her to the gods, who straightway went to her aid. It is possible that the deceased expected this Chapter to make him to be received everywhere in the Other World with the same cordial welcome which was given to the swallow on this earth as the harbinger of good tidings. For he says, "Let me advance with my message, for I have come with words to tell. Open the doors to me and I will declare the things which have been seen by me." The news he had to tell was that Horus had risen as the successor of Osiris, and that Set, the god of evil, was bound in the fetters which he had made for the deceased. The connection between the Scorpion, the daughter of Rā, and the swallow is not clear, but to identify himself with the Scorpion-goddess Serqet seems to have been all-important to the deceased.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

By transforming himself into the Sata serpent the deceased obtained the power of gliding unharmed through the remote parts of the earth, just as by taking the form of the golden hawk he was able to fly to the uttermost parts of heaven in every direction at will.



CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased was enabled to take the form of the crocodile, and to traverse the Nile from one end to the other, and to penetrate all the great canals which ran from the river to the hills on its east and west banks. The terror which accompanied the appearance of the crocodile among men now became the attribute of the deceased, and he was able to seize his prey when and where he pleased. The crocodile is one of the oldest objects of veneration in Egypt, and until quite recently it was worshipped in some of the islands in Lake Victoria. At the end of the XVIIIth century of our era the king of the crocodiles was believed to live at Armant in Upper Egypt, and a gigantic crocodile was held in veneration at Khartûm during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alî!¹ In certain districts on the Blue Nile the natives believed that by the use of magic men were

¹ See my *Egyptian Sâdân*, II., p. 414.

able to enter crocodiles and to cross the river in them, and to the present day the belief exists in the Sûdân that the eating of a portion of the genitals of a crocodile increases in a man the power of begetting children.


CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The Egyptians of all periods believed that the souls of the blessed would meet again and recognize in the Other World the souls which they had known and loved upon earth, and several spells and prayers were written with the object of bringing about the reunion of families. By the recital of this Chapter over a golden soul, inlaid with precious stones, placed on the breast of his mummy, the deceased believed he would be able to compel his heart-soul (*Ba*) to come from any and every place and unite itself to his body. Once the heart-soul had returned it was impossible for the body to crumble away and perish. In the text (l. 4) the deceased prays that he may have possession of his heart-soul (*Ba*) and his spiritual soul (*Khu*), and the last line of this very important Chapter proves that the *Ba* joined itself to the material body (*khat* ) , and the *Khu* to its spiritual body (*sâh* ). The reunion of souls took place at Ânnu (Heliopolis).

CHAPTER XC.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to spit out of his mouth the "recollection" (or, taste) of foul or evil things. In the formulae he adjures the "cutter off of heads and the splitter of skulls" not to cut off his head or split his skull, and not to prevent him from uttering the words of power which he knows by closing his mouth. This evil being attacked Osiris on one occasion, being urged to do so by Set, but Isis cast spells upon him, and frustrated his nefarious design. As the monster retreated before Osiris so, the deceased believed, he would retreat before him when armed with the words of power contained in this Chapter.

CHAPTER XCI.

This interesting Chapter introduces us to another of the constituent elements of man, namely his shadow, *khairbit*, which was depicted in the form of a parasol or umbrella, . In the text it is mentioned in connection with the heart-soul and the spiritual soul, and, in the light of the beliefs current on the subject of the shadow in Central and West Africa at the present day, we may assume that the shadow is to be regarded as a third soul. At all events, the soul and the shadow are so intimately connected that many tribes use only one

word for both soul and shadow,¹ and it is generally thought that the shadow is one of the four souls of man. A man will take infinite pains in the daytime to avoid losing his shadow, even for a short time; at night he is less careful, for then all shadows lie down in the shadow of the Great God and renew their strength.² A man may be murdered by the secret stabbing of his shadow, and the man who has lost his shadow necessarily dies. The recital of this Chapter prevented the souls of the deceased from being shut in the tomb or any part of the Other World, and transformed him into a spiritual soul who possessed his heart-soul and his shadow.

CHAPTER XCII.


This Chapter is one of great importance, for it proves that the heart-soul was intimately connected with the Ka, or double of a man. Its recital enabled the Ka and the Ba to leave the tomb at pleasure, and in one Vignette we see the deceased on one side of the tomb door and his Ka and Ba on the other, having passed through the door. From this and the preceding Chapter it seems clear that the Ka and the Ba and the Khaibit were closely associated in the minds of the

¹ Nassau, *Fetichism*, p. 64.

² Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 207.

Egyptians, and that in early times they represented three phases of that soul in man which could not die.

CHAPTER XCIII.

This Chapter presents some difficulty. The meaning of the text is on the whole clear, and by its recital the deceased was enabled to avoid going to the East, or being carried there against his will. It is possible that the Egyptians thought that the souls of the dead, when setting out on their journey from the earth to the Other World, might take the wrong turning, and so travel to disaster and annihilation. The being seated in the boat with his face turned round behind him, as seen in the Vignette, is a very old god, and his name, Hr̥a-f-ḥa-f, , occurs in the Pyramid Texts; his functions are unknown. The allusion to the phallus of Rā is not clear. We may note the threat on the part of the deceased that the Eye of the Sun shall become obscured through the suppuration which shall take place in it if he be kept in restraint, or carried off forcibly to the East.

CHAPTER XCIV.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with Thoṥ, the righteous scribe of all the gods,

and the heart of Rā, and in this character he became the secretary of Osiris, and understood all the mysteries which were written in the Books of God. As Thoth he knew all the words of power which that god had invented, the secrets of all hearts were open to him, and he became the chief recording angel.

CHAPTER XCV.

The object of this Chapter is not quite clear, but the text seems to imply that the deceased by reciting it obtained the power of stilling storms and putting an end to strife among the gods who caused rain and thunder, just as Thoth stopped the fight between Horus and Set, and Rā and Āpep, and Osiris and Set, when the champions of light and order fought against the powers of darkness, wickedness, and chaos. According to a papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10,009) this Chapter is entitled, "Of making the transformation into a goose," and in the Vignette is a picture of a goose.

CHAPTER XCVI.

The recital of this Chapter placed the deceased near Thoth, and caused him to be identified with Rā, the "god who dwelt in his eye." Armed with the intelli-

gence of Thoth and the power of Rā, he made Set to be at peace with him, and made offerings to the ancient Earth-god Aker and to the Red Devils in the fiery clouds at sunrise and sunset, and did homage to Seb, or Kēb.

CHAPTER XCVII.

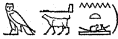
By the recital of this Chapter the deceased propitiated the Four Khu, viz., Maa-ātef-f, Kheribeqf, Herukhenti[ān]naati, and Ānpu, and was enabled to take up his position in the Boat of Rā, to whom he presented an offering of Maāt, β , having purified himself in the sacred lakes, and in the well of the Eye of the God "which is under the holy Sycamore Tree of "heaven," in Heliopolis. This has been a holy well from time immemorial, and it is probably the same well as that which the Muslims called "Ayn-ash-shems," i.e., "Eye of the Sun," and in the waters of which, according to an ancient tradition, the Virgin Mary washed the raiment of Christ. The traditional well is carefully guarded at the present day in a garden at Maṭariyah, a few miles from Cairo, and a short distance from the obelisk of Usertsen I., which marks the site of the ancient city of Heliopolis.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased obtained the use of a boat in the Other World, and the services of a god who understood how and where to sail it. From the facts that he addresses the Meskhet, or the constellation of the Great Bear, and that the "stars "which never set," i.e., the circumpolar stars, put him on his way, it may be assumed that he wished to have the power to sail over the northern heaven. In line 5 there is an allusion to a Ladder, and in the Papyrus of Ani a picture of it is given. This Ladder is referred to in the Pyramid Texts (Unäs, l. 579, Pepi, ll. 200 and 471); it was made originally for Osiris, who by means of it ascended into heaven. It was set up by Horus and Set, each of whom held one side, and they assisted the god to mount it; in the tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires several models of ladders have been found, and in later times, as we have seen, pictures of the Ladder of Heaven were drawn on papyri. This Chapter is of Heliopolitan origin.

CHAPTER XCIX.

The object of this Chapter was to enable the deceased to work and sail a boat, that is to say, a magical boat, over the canals and lakes of the Sekhet-Äaru, in one portion of which were placed the Sekhet-hetep, or

Elysian Fields, where Osiris and the souls of the blessed lived in everlasting felicity. Every part of this boat (*mākhet* ) possessed a name which identified it with some god or goddess, and the deceased was obliged to declare to each part its name before he was allowed to enter it. This Chapter contained the names of each part, and the knowledge of them made the deceased master of the boat, and enabled him to sail from the east to the west of heaven as Rā did each day.

CHAPTER C.

In the preceding Chapter we have seen that the deceased obtained a boat in which to sail over heaven like Rā, and in this we find that provision was made to enable him to enter into the Boat of Rā himself, wherein were the great gods in his following. This Chapter was, like the preceding, of Heliopolitan origin, and it is possible that the idea of the solar boat, with the shrine of the god placed in it, was derived from some Asiatic people. The Chapter was to be recited over a picture of a boat, drawn upon a piece of new papyrus with a special kind of ink made of sulphate of copper mixed with a solution of myrrh; the picture was placed on the breast of the deceased. The words and the picture secured for him the entry into the Boat of Rā, and prevented Thoṭh, who kept a list of all

those who entered the boat, from omitting to inscribe his name on it.

CHAPTER CI.

This Chapter is a spell which was written upon a strip of fine byssus and placed round the neck of the deceased on the day of his funeral. It contains an address to Rā, in which is mentioned the sacred Eye of magical powers, which was seven cubits long and had a pupil three cubits in diameter; the recital of this Chapter strengthened the power of Rā, and enabled him to resist the attacks of Āpep and the fiends of darkness. In fact, Rā himself needed the protection of spells; if Rā were strong the deceased was strong, and if Rā lost his strength the deceased perished. The formulae of this Chapter transformed the deceased into a "follower of Horus," and made him like Sept (Sothis), and gave him the company of his kinsfolk, and the goddess Menqet caused plants (i.e., grain) to spring up from his body, and Thoth made light to shine on him.

CHAPTER CII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased caused Rā to bring his boat to him, and to allow him to enter it, and to sail about with the god among the region of


the stars which never set, i.e., the circumpolar stars of the northern sky. He states that he has lived upon the pure food which the solar boats Sektet and Ātet (or Mātet) have brought to him, and, having eaten of the food of Rā, he is pure like Rā, and of like substance. In line 8 appears to be mentioned the curious custom of spitting, as a sign of healing and blessing, which is common among several peoples of Africa at the present day. Thus Mr. Thomson says, "Little bits of paper were next dipped in the water, and after I had spat upon them the ceremony was over, and the pieces were handed round as an infallible cure warranted not to fail."¹ Among the Masai spitting "expresses the greatest good-will, and the best of wishes. It takes the place of the compliments of the season, and you had better spit upon a damsel than kiss her. You spit when you meet, and you do the same on leaving. You seal your bargain in a similar manner."² Among the Egyptians spitting was a creative act, for the god Tem spat, and Tefnut came into being.

CHAPTER CIII.


The recital of this Chapter placed the deceased among the company who followed the goddess Hathor. This goddess was the personification of the sky, and especially of that part of it which was the "house of

¹ *Through Masai Land*, p. 381.

² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

"Horus"; hence her name, . Her symbol was in the earliest times a cow, and she represented the great mother of the world and the female power of nature which was perpetually conceiving, creating, bringing forth, and rearing and maintaining all things, both great and small. The Greeks identified her with Aphrodite, and she represented what was true, and good, and all that is best in wife, mother, and daughter.



CHAPTER CIV.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased was able to avail himself of the services of the *abit*¹ or mantis, and to pass through the house of the *Sehāptet* Boat, , and to take his place among the great gods.

CHAPTER CV.

It has already been said that the KA, or double, and the heart-soul, existed on the offerings which were made in the tombs by the relatives of the deceased, and it was, naturally, one of the first duties of a man whilst upon earth to provide, as far as possible, an endowment to be expended in supplying the statutory offerings.

¹ In this Chapter written *bebait* .

The recital of this Chapter secured food for the KA similar to that on which the KAU of the gods lived, it enabled the deceased to identify himself with the Uatch Amulet,  ¹ , which was on the neck of Rā, and it prevented his heart from falling away from him.

CHAPTER CVI.

Among the places which the deceased expected to visit in the Other World was the celestial Memphis, the abode of the spirit of Ptaḥ. By the recital of this Chapter the deceased would avoid the possibility of being in that place without food, and would secure a supply of bread, &c., which would be brought to him by the boat of the Other World.

CHAPTER CVII.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the deceased the power to go in and come out from the gate of the gods of the West, and to know these gods in person.

CHAPTER CVIII.

This Chapter also deals with the knowing of the Souls of the West; these were Temu, Sebek, and

Hathor. The place where these Souls lived was the Mountain of Bakhau, or the Mountain of Sunrise, which was 30,000 cubits long and 15,000 cubits broad; its principal god, or "soul," was Sebek. On this mountain lived a serpent 30 cubits long, and his forepart, for a distance of 8 cubits, was covered with flints and bright metal plates; his name was ÂMI-HEMF,



When Râ came to the mountain in his boat, he attacked the serpent with an iron harpoon, and made him vomit, and thus the power of Suti was broken, and he was turned back. The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to do what Râ had done, and to walk boldly over the back of the serpent.

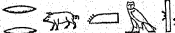
CHAPTER CIX.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the deceased the knowledge of the Souls of the East, i.e., Heru-khuti, the Sucking Calf, and the Morning Star, and of the position of the Gate of the East in the sky, and the Two Sycamores between which Râ appeared daily. It also enabled him to reach that portion of the Sekhet-Âaru where grew wheat with ears two cubits long, and barley with ears three cubits long, which were reaped by the Souls of the Blessed who were nine cubits in height!

CHAPTER CX.

This is a remarkable Chapter, with a large Vignette wherein are depicted the Elysian Fields of the Egyptians. They were surrounded on all sides by water, and were intersected by numerous canals, like many fertile districts in the Delta at the present time. The god of the region was called Hētep, whose city was also called Hētep, and the soul who had once learned the secret name of the god was able to lead there a life which closely resembled the life he had led upon earth. He sailed at will on the canals, he found there his parents and kinsfolk, he passed from place to place at will, he ploughed, sowed, reaped, ate, drank, married, held converse with the gods, arrayed himself in beautiful apparel, and lived a life of endless happiness. The various Vignettes are explained in detail on pp. 319—323.

CHAPTERS CXI. AND CXII.

By the recital of these Chapters the deceased became acquainted in person with the Souls of the city of Pe in the Delta, whose names were Horus, Kesthā and Hāpi, and learned how to profit by his knowledge of an interesting legend concerning Horus. It seems that in very early times Set, the god of evil, took the form of a black pig, , which came into the

presence of Horus, who looked on the animal. Soon after this Horus found that a serious injury had been done to his eye through looking at the black pig, and he felt as if he had received a blow in it. Rā ordered him to be placed in a chamber in the city of Pe, and at his request appointed Kesthā and Hāpi to keep watch over him. The legend refers, no doubt, to a great storm which swept over Pe, when the whole heaven was obscured by clouds, and thunders roared, and lightnings flashed, and torrents of rain fell. During the storm Horus was struck in the eye by lightning, or smitten by a thunderbolt, and when the storm had passed Rā appointed two of the sons of Horus to "make the earth blossom," and destroy the thunder-clouds and rain which threatened the city.

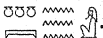
CHAPTER CXIII.

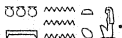
This Chapter contains a legend of Horus when he was in the city of Nekhen, in Upper Egypt. The meaning of the text is not very clear in places, but it seems that Horus fell into the papyrus swamp, and Isis ordered Sebek, the god of the papyrus swamp, to find him. Sebek took a net and succeeded in recovering the hands and arms of Horus, and by the orders of Rā they were placed in the city of Nekhen, and at the request of Horus, Tuamutef and Qebhsennuf were appointed to watch over them. By the recital of this


Chapter the deceased was enabled to avoid the disaster which fell upon Horus, and to obtain the protection of those who watched over this god.


CHAPTER CXIV.


The city of Khemennu, i.e., the city of the Eight Gods, or Hermopolis, was the seat of the god Thoth, the head of the oldest company of gods in Egypt. This company consisted of four gods and four goddesses, viz. :—


Nu, .

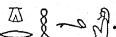
Nut, .

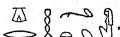
Hehu, .

Hehut, .

Kekiu, .

Kekiut, .




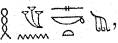

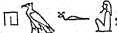
Kerh, .

Kerhet, .

These were forms of Thoth and were regarded as his Souls. By the recital of this Chapter the deceased obtained the wisdom, and knowledge, and learning of Thoth and his Souls, and the power to use them to his advantage.

CHAPTER CXV.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased obtained the power of passing unharmed through the Ammehet,

, or *Amāhet*, ,
 and the knowledge of the Souls of Heliopolis, Rā, Shu
 and Tefnut in person. The *Ammehet* was a division
 or chamber in the kingdom¹ of the god Seker, wherein
 certain souls were kept in restraint at the pleasure of
 the lord of the region, and it seems that at intervals
 they were tortured by fire. In the text mention is
 made of the high-priest of *Ānnu*, whose official title
 was "*Urmau*," , and there is an allusion
 to the origin of a beard or tress of hair, ,
 in connection with the god *Āmi-haf*, 
, but the exact meaning is not clear.

CHAPTER CXVI.

The purpose for which this Chapter was recited is
 explained in the Rubric; it prevented the deceased
 from being obliged to eat offal and drink dirty water.
 There is probably a mistake in the title which mentions
 the Souls of Khemennu, whilst the text speaks of the
 Souls of *Ānnu* who are here said to be Thoth, Sheta-
 Saa and Rekh-Tem.

¹ It was the fifth Division of the Tuat and was called *ĀMENT*.

CHAPTER CXVII.

The recital of this Chapter provided the deceased with a staff and a belt, or girdle, and gave him the knowledge of the paths whereon he would travel in Re-stau, a portion of the Other World, and enabled him to pass safely through the funeral valley and reach the Great Lake.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

The recital of this Chapter enabled him to pass through Re-stau, and to emerge safely from it in the company of the Šāhu who lived near the abode of Osiris.

CHAPTER CXIX.

This is an interesting Chapter, for it shows how the Egyptians associated the kingdom of Osiris at Abydos with Re-stau, which was in the Other World of Seker near Memphis. Its recital enabled the deceased to identify himself with the Šāhu (spiritual body) of Osiris, and to enter the presence of Rā in its company.

CHAPTERS CXX. AND CXXI.



These have already been described as Chapters XII. and XIII.

CHAPTER CXXII.


The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to re-enter Ámenti at pleasure, and to go in like the hawk and come forth like the *Bennu* bird. The text suggests that he is asking some god to admit him into Ámenti, and in reply to the question "Who art thou?" he recites the names of various parts of the boat in which he is sailing. It seems as if the Chapter represents the belief that the deceased was obliged to return to Ámenti in order to partake of milk, cakes, bread, ale and meat in the Temple of Anubis.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

In this Chapter the deceased identifies himself with Thoth, who made the Two Combatants, Horus and Set, to cease from fighting and to be at peace; being Thoth, he possesses the knowledge of the words of power which are necessary to make the old gods to perform his commands, and the young gods to follow him. The

allusion to the Ātu fish, , is not clear, and little is known about the god Nem-hrà, or Uhem-hrà, .

CHAPTER CXXIV.

According to one papyrus the formulae of this Chapter were recited to enable the deceased to transform himself into a *Bennu* bird, and according to another the Chapter contains the speech which he was supposed to make when he entered into the presence of the TCHATCHA, , or chief ministers of Osiris (i.e., the four sons of Horus), or into the presence of Osiris himself.

CHAPTER CXXV.

This Chapter is one of the most interesting and remarkable in the Book of the Dead, and it illustrates the lofty moral and spiritual conceptions of the Egyptians in the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the opening section the deceased is supposed to be standing before the doors of the Judgment Hall of Osiris, which are guarded by Anubis, and he describes to this god the journey which he has made from the Delta to Elephan-

tine, and enumerates the shrines and holy places which he has visited. He has conversed with Set, and visited Mendes, the sacred Acacia Tree, Elephantine, the seat of the goddess Sati, Qem-ur, Busiris, the temple of Anubis, Re-stau in the kingdom of Seker, and An-rut-f the kingdom of Heru-shefi at Herakleopolis. Having told Anubis the magical names of the Hall of Maäti, the god gave him permission to enter. On his arrival in the Hall the deceased then solemnly declared that he knew the name of Osiris, and the names of Forty-two gods who sat there with him to assist him in examining the souls of those who came in before him for judgment, and that he had not committed the sins which he mentioned one by one. According to this confession he 1. had harmed no man; 2. had not injured his family; 3. had committed no evil in a holy place; 4. had not kept evil companions; 5. had done no evil; 6. had not overworked his men; 7. had not sought for honours; 8. or ill-treated his servants; 9. or scorned God; 10. or seized any man's property; 11. or done what the gods hate; 12. or vilified a servant to his master; 13. or caused pain to any; 14. or let any man go hungry; 15. or made any one weep; 16. or committed murder; 17. or caused murder to be committed; 18. or inflicted pain; 19. had not stolen the offerings in the temple; 20. or the sacred bread; 21. or bread offered to the spirits; 22. had not committed fornication; 23. or polluted himself in the sanctuary of the city god; 24. had not given short

measure; 25. or filched land; 26. or encroached on land not his own; 27. had not cheated the seller; 28. or buyer by means of false weights; 29. had not stolen the milk of children; 30. had not raided cattle; 31. or snared sacred birds; 32. or caught fish with bait made of fish of the same kind; 33. had not stopped the flow of water; 34. or cut the bank of a canal; 35. or extinguished a fire which ought to burn; 36. had not defrauded the gods of their meat offerings; 37. or raided sacred cattle; 38. and did not repulse God in his manifestations.

In the second form of the Confession the deceased addresses each negative statement to a god, whose duty it appears to have been to punish all those who committed the particular sin mentioned in connection with his name. The names of the Forty-two gods are:—

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Usekh-nemmât. | 13. Ām-senf. |
| 2. Hept-shet. | 14. Ām-besku. |
| 3. Fenti. | 15. Neb-Maāti. |
| 4. Ām-Khaibitu. | 16. Thenemi. |
| 5. Neḥa-hāu. | 17. Āati. |
| 6. Ruruti (Twin-gods Shu
and Tefnut). | 18. Tuṭuf. |
| 7. Merti-f-em-ṭes. | 19. Uamemti. |
| 8. Nebā. | 20. Maa-ānu-f. |
| 9. Seṭ-qesu. | 21. Ḥeri-seru. |
| 10. Uatch-nes. | 22. Khemi. |
| 11. Qerti. | 23. Sheṭ-kheru. |
| 12. Heṭch-ābeḥu. | 24. Nekhen. |
| | 25. Ser-kheru. |

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 26. Basti. | 35. Tem-sep. |
| 27. Hraîf-haf. | 36. Maa(?)-em-âb-f. |
| 28. Ta-reṭ. | 37. Hi. |
| 29. Kenemti. | 38. Utu-rekhit. |
| 30. Âm-hetep-f. | 39. Neheb-nefert. |
| 31. Neb-hraû. | 40. Neheb-kau. |
| 32. Serkhi. | 41. Tcheser-ṭep-f. |
| 33. Neb-âbui. | 42. Ân-â-f. |
| 34. Nefer-Tem. | |

The order of the names is not always the same, and there are a few variants in the lists given by the different papyri. It will be noticed that the names of very few of the great gods are contained in the list, and it seems as if the Forty-two gods of the Judgment Hall of Osiris were merely divine ministers of that god whose sole duty was to help the god to examine souls nightly.


The last section of this Chapter contains an address to the gods of the Other World which was spoken after the deceased had passed successfully through the ordeal of the Judgment. The Rubric to the Chapter is also of great interest, and in it the deceased is ordered to make a picture of the Judgment Scene in colour upon a new tile made of earth upon which no pig or any other animal has trodden. If he did this it would have the effect of making him and his family to flourish, his name would never be forgotten, and he would be able to satisfy the hearts of the king and his princes. He lived on the food of the gods, went

wherever he pleased in the Other World, and followed in the train of Osiris continually.


CHAPTER CXXVI.

In this Chapter the deceased entreats the Four Apes who sat each at a corner of the Lake of Fire, or of boiling water, in the *Âmmehet* chamber in the kingdom of Seker, to put away his "evil deeds and sin" which deserved stripes upon earth, and to destroy any "evil which clung to him," and to let him enter Re-stau, and to grant him sepulchral meals. To this petition the Apes reply that they have granted his prayer.

CHAPTER CXXVII. A AND B.

The two versions of Chapter CXXVII. contain hymns of praise to the gods of the QERTI, , i.e., the "Circles" of the Other World, which the deceased sang before he entered into the Great Temple of the Other World.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

This Chapter contains a hymn to Osiris, the lord of souls, , which the deceased sang to the god as


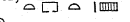
he presented his offerings to him. It belongs to a late period, and contains nothing which is not found in older texts.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

This Chapter has already been described as Chapter C.

CHAPTER CXXX.

This Chapter was recited on the birthday of Osiris, and the object of its recital by the deceased was to "make perfect his spiritual soul." The Rubric directs that it shall be recited over a picture of the Boat of Rā, and that a figure of the deceased be placed in it, with a Sektet Boat on one side and an Ātet Boat on the other. In the Vignette the deceased is seen standing between the two boats. The object of the Chapter is clear. The recital of it enabled the deceased to identify himself with Rā-Osiris, that is to say, with the Day-sun and the Night-sun, and it provided him either with a passage in both boats of Rā-Osiris, or with two boats in which to follow the god across heaven by day and through the Țuat by night. This Chapter is probably of Heliopolitan origin. In the Saïte Recension the Rubric contains an interesting statement to the effect that this Chapter was "found" in the large

hall of the temple during the reign of the Majesty of
Senti-Hesepti, , having been "found"
in a cave in a hill which Horus made for his father
Osiris Un-nefer, . Thus it is clear that in the Ptolemaic
Period the Chapter was believed to have been in ex-
istence under the Ist Dynasty.

CHAPTER CXXLI.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with Rā, and attained the object of his prayer, i.e., permission to enter the boat of the god and to be in the company of Thoth, who was the heart of Rā. The deceased refers to the deity Mehen, under whose protection Rā sailed, and to her everlasting existence, and to the Lake of a Million Years, and he declares that through all these years Rā is the Lord, and that his path is in the fire. This Chapter also is probably of Heliopolitan origin.

CHAPTER CXXII.

The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to return to earth and to visit his old house, or perhaps

tomb. In one of the Vignettes the form of the deceased is standing at the door, and in the other his heart-soul is alighting on the roof of the building.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

This Chapter is to all intents and purposes a hymn to Rā, and is, no doubt, of Heliopolitan origin. It was intended to be said or sung over a model of the Boat of Rā, four (or seven) cubits long, made of green porcelain, in which were a figure of Rā and a figure of the deceased. No one was to look upon the boat except the father, or son, of the man for whose benefit it was made. If these things were done they would cause Rā to look upon the soul of the deceased as perfect, and the gods would consider him to be an equal, and men and the dead would fall on their faces when they saw him, and in the Other World he would appear as the radiance of Rā.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

This Chapter resembles the preceding, and is also of Heliopolitan origin. It was to be recited over a model of the Boat of Rā, in which, painted on a plaque, were figures of the deceased, a hawk, Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb,

Nut, Osiris, Isis, Suti, Nephthys, and the solar disk ; this done the deceased enjoyed existence with Rā daily, and helped to overthrow his enemies.


CHAPTER CXXXV.

This Chapter was to be recited by the deceased on the day when the new moon appeared in the sky, and its recital helped him to become a perfect soul in the Other World, and to escape a second death. The new moon was the symbol of Osiris risen from the dead, and the Egyptians believed that the knowledge of this Chapter would enable the deceased to pass unharmed through the Other World, and to emerge, unfettered by storm and darkness, into the clear vault of heaven. He would then, like Rā, enter his boat and sail over the sky. This and the following Chapter were also of Heliopolitan origin.





CHAPTER CXXXVI.A AND B.

This Chapter is in character similar to the preceding, and was recited with the object of making perfect the soul of the deceased and of securing for it a seat in the Boats of Rā, where it would live for ever and ever.

CHAPTER CXXXVIIA.


This Chapter was recited during the performance in the tomb of some interesting ceremonies which are described in the Vignette. Four men assumed the character of the four pillars of Horus, and each had the name of one of the pillars, i.e., sons of Horus, on his shoulder. Each took in his hand a torch made of strips of *âtmâ* cloth, which had been dipped in the finest Thehennu unguent, and set fire to it, and after it had been burning some time, that is, during the recital of certain portions of the Chapter, they extinguished them in four earthen vessels containing the milk of a white cow. This ceremony was to be performed daily, with very great secrecy, for it was regarded as a great mystery. If the instructions given in the Rubric were carried out faithfully, the deceased became a "living soul for ever," and enjoyed all the powers and attributes of Osiris himself. The formulae are said to have been composed by Thoth in very early times, and copies of them are said to have been "found" by Prince Heruṭātāf, the son of King Khufu, in a hidden chest in Hermopolis. After the lighting of the torches, a crystal Tet, , set on a block of crude Nile mud, was inserted in a cavity in the west wall of the tomb; and a figure of Anubis, set on a similar block, was inserted in a cavity in the east wall; another block of crude Nile mud, containing a hollow filled with lighted

incense, was inserted in a cavity in the south wall; and another block, with a figure of a palm-tree set in it, was inserted in the cavity in the north wall. On each block was inscribed a formula which was recited by the deceased, and which prevented the approach of any enemy to the wall of the tomb in which was placed the amulet referred to in the formula. Like certain other Chapters this Chapter was to be recited by a man who had eaten neither fish nor meat, and who had not had intercourse with women. A set of mud blocks with the amulets upon them from a tomb of a priestess of *Āmen-Rā* at Thebes may be seen in Wall-case No. 73 in the Second Egyptian Room in the British Museum.

In the Vignette of the second and shorter form of the Chapter the Hippopotamus-goddess "*Āpit*, lady of "amulets," is seen kindling a lamp set on a stand, and the text makes it clear that the flame is a type of the Eye of Horus, or the Sun-god, the "Pillar of his "mother,"    . It is possible that the ape-goddess mentioned in connection with *Ān-mut-f* (see above, p. c, Chap. XVIII.) may be a hippopotamus-goddess.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.


The recital of this Chapter by the deceased gave him the power to enter into the kingdom of Osiris at

Abydos, to become one of the followers of the god, and to identify himself with Horus, the son of Osiris, on the day of the great ceremony when the reconstitution of the body of Osiris was commemorated by setting up the Tet, , and placing the head of the god on the top of it. The Vignette represents the setting up of the Tet by Horus and Isis, and grouped about it are the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, the Ram-gods (i.e., Soul-gods), the Lions of Sunrise and Sunset, the Four Uchats of heaven, the Two Fly-flappers, &c.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

This Chapter has already been described as Chapter CXXIII.

CHAPTER CXL.

This Chapter was to be recited on the day of the full moon of the sixth month of the Egyptian year over two Uchat amulets, , one made of lapis-lazuli and one made of jasper, which were to be placed on the body of the deceased. At the same time four altars were to be dedicated to Rā-Tem, and four to the full moon, and four to the gods whose names are mentioned in the Chapter, and each altar was to be supplied.

with offerings, according to the list given in the Rubric.

CHAPTERS CXLI. AND CXLII.

These Chapters originally formed one composition, which contained the names of all the gods of heaven, earth, and the Other World, to whom on the ninth day of the festival it was meet and right that the deceased should make offerings on behalf of his father or his son. These names were followed by a list of the forms of Osiris, to which also offerings were to be made. In the Saïte Recension the list of the forms of Osiris comes first, and is fuller than that given in the Theban Recension.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

This Chapter consists of a series of five Vignettes only.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

This Chapter was to be recited during the performance of a number of ceremonies which are described in the long Rubric. The first portion of it, which is arranged in tabular form, contains a representation of the SEVEN ĀRTS, i.e., Halls, which formed the abode of

Osiris in the Other World. Before each Ārit stood three beings: one of these guarded the door, another kept a look-out to see when any one was approaching, and the third acted as herald, and announced the name of the comer to the god. No one could gain admission into the Ārits unless he was able to recite the names of the doorkeepers, watchmen, and heralds. The second portion of the Chapter contains a long address to the Ārits and their keepers, which the deceased was supposed to recite. The Rubric ordered that figures of the gods of the Ārits were to be painted with their Ārits, and that a figure of the deceased was to be made to approach each Ārit in turn. At each Ārit the Chapter was to be recited, and certain offerings made, among them being four vessels of blood.

CHAPTER CXLV.

In the preceding Chapter we have seen that the Hall-gates of the Kingdom of Osiris were seven in number, but in this Chapter the Pylons of the Sekhet-Āaru, or Elysian Fields, which also formed a part of the domain of Osiris, were twenty-one in number. Each Pylon was under the care of two gods, whose names had to be proclaimed by the deceased before he was permitted to pass through it. As he came to each Pylon he uttered the names of the gods and told them what acts of purification he had per-

formed. This done he was allowed to proceed. The speech recited before the XXIst Pylon is the longest of all, and in it the deceased enumerates the shrines which he has visited, and the pious acts which he has performed.

CHAPTER CXLVI.


This Chapter is a version of Chapter CXLV.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

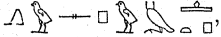

This Chapter is a version of Chapter CXLIV.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

The recital of this Chapter by the deceased enabled him to supply himself with animal food, milk, cream, &c., and gave him the names of the seven divine cows and their bull, the figures of which are seen in the Vignette. In the text he addresses the god of the kine and their bull, and also the animals themselves. Following the prayer for offerings are pictures of the Rudders of the four quarters of heaven, and of the gods who preside over them, and these also are entreated to give food to the deceased. This Chapter is described

in the Rubric as the "Book of Un-Nefer," , and it is ordered that it be recited by the deceased only when he is quite alone. If the instructions in the Rubric be faithfully carried out, Rā himself will be the Rudder of the deceased and his protecting power.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

This Chapter was originally the last of the Chapters of the Book of the Dead, for the words "Here endeth [the book] in peace," , come at the end of it. It contains pictures of the Fourteen Āats, , of Sekhet-Āaru, or the Elysian Fields, and a series of texts which gives the names of many of the gods who live in them, and descriptions of the Āats. In the Pyramid Texts frequent allusions to the Āats, or Domains, of Horus and Set are met with, but the Āats of Sekhet-Āaru were under the rule of Osiris. The Āats and their gods, according to two lists, were:—

ĀAT.	GOD.
I. Āment	.....
II. Sekhet-Āaru	Rā-Ĥeru-khuti.
III. Khu	.....
IV. Ṭui-qauī-āāui	.....

V. Khu	. . . . .
VI. Ámmehet	Sekher-remu.
VII. Áses	Rerek or Maftet (?).
VIII. Ha-hetep	Qa-ha-hetep.
IX. Áksi	. . . . .
X. Nut-ent-qahû	. . . . .
XI. Nut-âmt-neter-khert	. . . . .
XII. Ástchetet	. . . . .
XIII. Uârt-ent-mu	. . . . .
XIV. Kher-âha	. . . . .

ÁAT.

GOD.

I. Sekhet-Áaru	Râ-Heru-Khuti.
II. Ápt-ent-shet	Fa-âkhu.
III. Tu-qa-âat	. . . . .
IV. Áat of the Souls	. . . . .
V. Ámmehet	Sekher-remu.
VI. Ásset	. . . . .
VII. Ha-sert	Ákh-pet.
VIII. Ápt-ent-Qahû	. . . . .
IX. Átu	Sept.
X. Unt	Hetemet-baiu.
XI. Ápt-ent-mu	Áa-sekhemu.
XII. Kher-âha	Hâp (Nile).
XIII. Átru-en-nes-f-shet	. . . . .
XIV. Áksi	Maa-thet-f.
XV. Áment-nefert	. . . . .

CHAPTER CL.

This Chapter contains a list of Fifteen *Åats*, with a picture of each; it is practically a summary of Chapter CXLIX. in a tabular form.

CHAPTER CLIA AND B.

The Vignette of this Chapter is of great interest, for in it are represented the form and decoration of the mummy chamber of a tomb, according to the views of those who were learned in matters concerning the Other World. This chamber was rectangular in shape, and in the centre of it the deceased is seen lying on a bier, with his feet to the south, and with the jars containing his viscera beneath it; by his feet stands Anubis, and Nephthys and Isis kneel at the head and foot of the bier respectively. In each corner is a figure of one of the sons of Horus; these figures may have been painted on the walls. Each wall had in it a cavity. In the cavities of the north and south walls were placed bowls of incense, which is here represented as burning, in the cavity of the east wall is a figure of Anubis, and in that of the west wall a *Țet*. A shabti figure stands at the north-east and south-east corners, and a figure of the heart-soul in the north-west and south-west corners. The texts which accompany the gods, amulets, &c., are

magical formulae intended to protect the mummy. The text of Chapter CLLB contains a speech of the god Anubis, in which the beatified state of the deceased is described.

CHAPTER CLIL.

The recital of this Chapter secured for the deceased the possession of a house in this world which he could visit daily. The goddess Sesheta, the mistress of architectural knowledge, drew the plan, and its foundations were laid in Heliopolis, the city of Rā. To this house beasts for slaughter were brought by the south wind, and grain by the north wind, and his barley came from the ends of the earth.

CHAPTER CLIIIA AND B.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased was enabled to avoid capture in the net of "the fowler whose fingers are hidden," whether the net were cast on land or in the waters. The net itself, and its ropes, and the instruments with which it was fastened to the ground and worked, had each a magical name, and by the knowledge of all these names the deceased not only avoided capture himself but was enabled to use the net and capture fowl and fish for his own needs. Nets

are used for catching game to this day by many African tribes, and the Fân tie them on to trees in two long lines which converge to an acute angle, the bottom part of the net lying on the ground. Then a party of men and women accompanied by their trained dogs, which have bells hung round their necks, beat the surrounding bushes, and the frightened small game rush into the nets, and become entangled.¹ The Bible contains several allusions to the net, both as a weapon of evil men and as a hunting instrument. Thus we read of the "wild bull in a net" (Isaiah li. 20), "they have prepared a net for my steps" (Psalm lvii. 6), and see Psalms ix. 15, x. 9, xxv. 15, xxxi. 4, xxxv. 7; Proverbs xxix. 5; Micah vii. 2, &c. Anthony the Great also spoke of the net of the Enemy.²

CHAPTER CLIV.


This is a remarkable Chapter, and is one of the most important in the Book of the Dead. It consists of an address to the god Osiris wherein the deceased prays to his "divine father" not to let his body decay or perish. He appeals to Osiris because, like Tem and Kheperâ, he was one who never saw corruption, and entreats him to deliver him from decay even as he delivered his

¹ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 322.

² See my *Paradise of the Fathers*, I., p. 11.

own body from the worms and corruption which seize upon the bodies of "every god, and every goddess, and "every animal, and every reptile, as soon as the breath "hath departed from them." The recital of this Chapter enabled the deceased to identify himself with Kheperà, and at the end of the text he says, "My "members shall have an everlasting existence. I shall "neither decay, nor rot, nor putrefy, nor turn into "worms, nor see corruption. I shall have my being, I "shall live, I shall flourish, I shall wake up in peace." A version of the text of this Chapter was written upon one of the linen sheets in which the mummy of Thohtmes III. was wrapped.

CHAPTER CLV.

The recital of this Chapter over a Tet, , of gold, which was placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral, gave him the power to rise up like Osiris with strength in his back, shoulders, and neck.

CHAPTER CLVI.

The recital of this Chapter over a buckle of carnelian, which was placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral, gave him the protection of the

blood of Isis, and the strength of the goddess and the knowledge of her words of power. It caused Horus to rejoice when he saw him, and one hand of the deceased would be towards heaven, and the other towards earth, regularly and continually.

CHAPTER CLVII.

This Chapter is ordered by the Rubric to be cut upon a figure of a vulture made of gold, which was to be placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. This figure and the formula cut on it secured for him the protection and motherly love which Isis lavished upon her son Horus, whom she brought forth in the papyrus swamps of the Delta. According to the legend, Horus who had been left by Isis sleeping in safety was, during her absence, stung to death by a scorpion. Isis, in the form of a vulture, flew about over the swamps, uttering cries as she went, until at length she found the body of her son. Her sister Nephthys cried out to Thoth, who was in the Boat of Rā, and who stopped the solar boat, and came to earth and gave Isis the words of power which enabled her to restore Horus to life. By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with Horus who was raised up from the dead.



CHAPTER CLVIII.

The words of this Chapter were cut upon a pectoral of gold, which was placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral, and they secured for him the protection of Isis, whom he calls "my father, my brother, my mother."

CHAPTER CLIX.

The words of this Chapter were cut upon an amulet of felspar, made in the form of a papyrus column, which was placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. They secured for him the protection of Isis and the strength of Horus.




CHAPTER CLX.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased obtained possession of the health and strength which were in the Eye of Horus, and of the Uatch amulet,  ¹ , which was bestowed upon the righteous by Thoth.

CHAPTER CLXI.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased was enabled to enter each of the four quarters of heaven at will, and to breathe the air in them. Osiris gave him the north wind, Rā the south wind, Isis the west wind, and Nephthys the east wind. This Chapter was a "great mystery," and it was only to be recited in the presence of the father or son of the deceased.

CHAPTER CLXII.


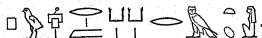
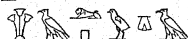
This Chapter was the last of a series which was not originally connected with the Book of the Dead. It was to be recited over a gold figure of a cow, which was to be placed on the neck of the deceased, and to be written on a strip of new papyrus which was to be placed under his head. The object of the Chapter was to keep heat in the body of the deceased until his resurrection, and it is said to have been composed by the Cow-goddess of heaven for the benefit of her son Rā when he was surrounded by beings of fire. It contains the magic names of the Cow and of the Divine Body in Heliopolis, and is one of the few Chapters which mentions Āmen. Of the god PAR, or PAL,    (l. 1), nothing is known.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with the Divine Soul in Âthabu and with the Divine Soul in Saïs, and became the emanations of the eyes of Âmen, the divine Bull-Scarab, the Lord of the Uchats, and the very essence of the pupils of the eyes of the god. By the knowledge of this Chapter he prevented his body from decaying, by it he avoided the devourers of souls and the things which he hated on earth, and vanquished all the "worms" in the Other World. The Rubric is unusually interesting, and illustrates the magical ceremonies which were performed in connection with the Chapters of the Book of the Dead in the late period.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

This Chapter contains an address to the goddess Sekhet-Bast-Râ, which was to be recited over a three-headed figure of the goddess Mut and two figures of two-headed dwarfs, and it gives the name by which she was known among the dwellers in the Sûdân, viz., Tekaharesapusaremkakaremet,

 Her father's name was   Harpuḳakasharushabain,

CHAPTER CLXVI.

By the recital of this Chapter the head of the deceased was lifted up in heaven by the gods and preserved for ever. He was enabled by it to avoid slaughter in the Other World, and his head was never carried away from him.

CHAPTER CLXVII.

The recital of this Chapter gave to the deceased the strength which was in the Eye (*Utchat*) of Horus. Making a play on the words *utchat*, "eye," and *utcha*, "strength," he says, "I am sound, and it is sound." The mention of Thoth bringing the Utchat is an allusion to the legend which states that on one occasion Set stole the Eye of Horus and carried it off, whereupon Horus became sick. Thoth went in pursuit of Set, and having found him he took away the Eye of Horus and carried it back to the god; in the struggle between Thoth and Set the latter received a wound in the thigh. On another occasion Set was wandering through the sky on the evening of the new moon, and finding the little crescent there he swallowed it, but Thoth made him vomit, and the moon was restored to the sky. According to another view Set bit a piece off

the moon each night after the full moon, and thus the waning of the moon was accounted for.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

This section contains a series of prayers to the gods of the Eighth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Circles of the Other World, who are entreated to grant to the deceased favours and benefits, in return for which offerings on his behalf are to be made to them. The prayers form a sort of Litany of the Gods.

CHAPTER CLXIX.


In this Chapter we have a detailed statement of the various benefits which have been conferred on the deceased by the gods, and its recital secured for the deceased everlasting felicity in the Other World. In the text it is assumed that he has performed all ceremonial obligations, he has passed through the Hall of Judgment with credit to himself, none has obstructed his passage or kept him under restraint, he does as the gods do, he eats what they eat, drinks what they drink, lives with them, holds converse with them, rests happily in the haven of the Gap at Abydos, where he is sheltered from the whirlwind and the storm, and

death cannot again approach him. The Great God ordered him to be brought to this place of felicity, and he dwells within Rā.

CHAPTER CLXX.

This Chapter is a continuation of Chapter CLXIX.; the recital of either was equally beneficial for the deceased. Among the favours which the gods bestowed upon him was the gift of books, written in hieroglyphics, which the god Thoth himself brought to him. Shesmu, the headsman of Osiris, also snared and killed the fowl of heaven, which he brought to him, and thus saved him the trouble of working the net for himself.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

This Chapter contains a prayer to all the great gods and goddesses, and to all the divine beings who are in heaven and earth, that when the deceased arrayeth himself in the *abu* apparel, , he may at the same time be freed from every taint of evil, and may put on all the strength and purity which are the peculiar attributes of all the gods who are mentioned in the text, and may be a pure and undefiled soul for evermore. Among the names of the gods we find the

name of Amen, a fact which suggests that the Chapter is not older than the XVIIIth Dynasty.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

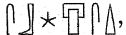

This Chapter consists of an introductory paragraph, and Nine Houses or Stanzas, wherein the triumph, and beauty, and happiness of the deceased are described in picturesque and highly poetical language. He is wholly identified with every power of heaven, and every god and every goddess share their natures and attributes with him. As bearing upon the question of the efficacy of funerary offerings and sacrifices and ceremonies, it is important to note the words, "Hail, "thou who hast been raised up, thou art raised up by "means of the ceremonies which have been performed "for thee."

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with Horus, the son of Osiris, who came from the Abt chamber to see Râ in the form of Un-Nefer, i.e., Osiris, the Lord of the Holy Land. When Horus met his father Osiris each god embraced the other, and Horus enumerated in forty short statements the things which he had done on his father's behalf. Each statement opens with the words "I have come," and it will

be remembered that in the famous inscription of Thothmes III., which contains a series of addresses to the king by Ámen-Rā, Lord of Karnak, and which enumerates all the great things which the god had performed for him, each address opens with the words "I have come." The recital of this Chapter by the deceased before Osiris caused the god to regard him as his son Horus.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

The text forming this Chapter was originally a section of the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead which was in use under the Vth and VIth Dynasties; it is found in the Pyramid of Unās, ll. 379—399. The title is a later addition, and the Vignette merely illustrates the title. The "great door" alluded to in both is probably the door of the star-god Sept (Sothis), , at which the deceased was brought forth by the goddess Sekhet. The Heliopolitan or Memphite origin of the Chapter is proved by the fact that in the text the deceased identifies himself with Nefer-Tem, the son of Ptaḥ and Sekhet, the great gods of Memphis. The symbol of Nefer-Tem was the lily, or lotus, *seshen* , and with this the deceased identifies himself.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

This Chapter is of very great interest, but is full of difficulties. The text as it stands in the Papyrus of Ani shows that the deceased is supposed to have become dissatisfied with the actions of the divine children of Nut, who have brought wickedness and trouble into everything. In his difficulty he appeals to Thoth, the righteous scribe of Osiris. Next, the deceased is supposed to find himself in a region of unfathomable depth and darker than the darkest night, where there is neither air nor water. Allusions are made to Horus, and the throne of the Dweller in the Lake of Fire, the Boat of Millions of Years, &c., but it is impossible to fit these together in a connected fashion with the prayers of the deceased. Immortality is assured to the deceased, for in answer to his question, "How long have I to live?" he is told, "Thou shalt live for millions of millions of years, a life of millions of years." In the longer but sadly mutilated version of the Chapter given in a papyrus at Leyden, M. Naville sees the remains of a Heracleopolitan legend of the Flood. The great god Tem informs the deceased that he is about to destroy all that he has made by a flood which he will bring on the earth. Everything will be destroyed except Osiris and himself, and he (Tem) will take the form of a very small serpent which no man shall know of and no god shall see. Osiris will then be left in possession of the earth, and in due time he

shall transfer his rule and his throne to his successor Horus.


CHAPTER CLXXVI.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased became a "perfect soul" in the Other World, and he passed through the Mesqet Chamber and avoided the place where the slaughtering of the enemies of Rā and Osiris was carried out. And he attained to such a state of perfection that he could never die again.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased's soul was raised up, and his heart-soul was made to live in the Other World. This Chapter was originally a section of the text in the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead, and its ancient form is found in the Pyramid of Unās, l. 361 ff. It mentions some of the gods of the older mythology, e.g., the four Uaipu cow-

goddesses, , and the blue-eyed

Horus, , and the red-eyed

Horus, .

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

By the recital of this Chapter the head of the deceased was established, he gained the sight of his eyes, the hearing of his ears, and protection for his face. The Chapter consists chiefly of extracts from the Heliopolitan Recension of the Book of the Dead; their original forms are found in the Pyramid of Unās, ll. 166 ff., 199, 200, and 399 ff.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased advanced from yesterday, and came forth by day, and obtained food in the Other World. His enemy was delivered into his hands, and the God of the Red Eye gave him the shadow and form of the living gods.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

This Chapter is a hymn of praise to Rā and Osiris, and when it had been sung to these gods by the deceased he became like unto the divine and holy Soul-god who is in the Other World. He was thus enabled to travel through heaven with long strides, to go where he pleased, and to perform all his transformations.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

This Chapter is also a hymn of praise to Osiris, Governor of Âmentet, and to his counterpart, Râ.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased identified himself with Thoth; it contains eight paragraphs in which he describes all the things which he has done for Osiris as Thoth, and a hymn to Osiris, Prince and Governor of Âmentet.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

This Chapter is a really fine Hymn to Osiris, in which the deceased, who identifies himself with Thoth, declares all the things which he has done to vivify the Still-Heart, i.e., Osiris. In the form in which it is here given it belongs to the reign of Seti I., B.C. 1370.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

By the recital of this Chapter the deceased obtained the power of being near Osiris, and in the Vignette he is seen standing near the god. The text of this Chapter is much mutilated, and from the remains of it, which

are found in one papyrus only, it is impossible to make a connected translation.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

This Chapter is a short hymn to Osiris.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

This Chapter contains a short hymn to Hathor, the Lady of Amentet, and a prayer to her by the deceased that he may join those who follow in her train, and may receive funerary offerings in Amentet.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

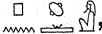

This Chapter contains a short prayer addressed by the deceased to the company of the gods of Rā, and by its recital he was enabled to join that company, and to make his way among them.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

This is an interesting Chapter. The deceased is supposed to have entered into the Utchat, i.e., the Eye

of Horus, and to have gained possession of his soul, and heart-soul, and shadow; but according to the title he longed for his heart-soul to have the power to build habitations for itself upon earth, and to come forth by day on earth among men.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

This Chapter appears to be an amplification of Chapter LII., many passages in the texts of both being identical; it appears to represent an attempt on the part of a scribe to collect under one heading all the important formulae, the recital of which enabled the deceased to avoid eating filth and drinking urine in the Other World. In the first paragraph the deceased prays for an allowance of seven cakes [daily?], four cakes of Horus and three of Thoth; these he would eat under the Sycamore of Hathor, and would have his maternal and paternal ancestors to look after his estate and house. In the second paragraph he holds a conversation with the god Pen-heseb (?), , concerning his supply of food, and he tells the Aukhemu beings, , his wishes in respect of those who are to bring him his food, to watch over his estate, to plough his fields, and to reap his harvest.

The last-named work shall be done by Suti, or Set, the god of evil.

CHAPTER CXC.

This section, although it has a long title stating that the text, or "Book," has the power of making perfect the soul of the deceased before Rā, Tem, and Osiris, and of making it mighty before the gods, is practically only a Rubric, which may really belong to Chapter CLXXXIX. or Chapter CXLVIII. The recital of the Chapter to which it belonged gave the deceased the power to pass through the Other World in safety, it destroyed the "deafness of his face," and made "a way "for his face with the god." The formula was held to be most solemn and holy, and the Rubric orders it to be said by a man in the strict privacy of a cloth tent decorated with stars. It was also a "great mystery," and none of the dwellers in the papyrus swamps of the Delta was to be allowed to look upon it.

From the above brief analysis of the Chapters which I have included in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, the reader will see that there is in many of them much overlapping of subject-matter, and may think that the Egyptian revelled in texts full of repetitions both of words and ideas. It must, however,

be remembered that the Chapters and formulae do not all belong to the same period, and that collectively they cover a period of some two thousand years. These formulae represent a number of different and, in some cases, diametrically opposite opinions, and the influences of many schools of thought are manifest in them. The oldest formulae were composed, no doubt, by the priests of Heliopolis, and in their original forms were very different from those in which we find them in the Theban Papyri. This is fully proved by Chapters CLXXIV., CLXXVII., and CLXXVIII., where it is clear that, owing to the want of an adequate number of determinatives, the scribes wholly misunderstood the meaning of certain passages, and that they altered and modified the texts of several passages to suit modern views, or to make them mean what they thought they ought to mean. And sometimes passages of a coarse nature were omitted, probably because they offended the susceptibilities of the men of a more refined time. Thus in the passage from the text of Unas (l. 166 ff.; see *infra*, p. 603) we have a reference to the love-making¹ of the deceased which is entirely omitted from

¹ M. Maspero's rendering of the passage (see *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saggarah*, p. 21) runs:—"O Râ, sois bon pour lui en ce jour dès hier; car Ounas a connu la déesse Mâout, Ounas a respiré la flamme d'Isi. Ounas s'est uni au lotus, Ounas a connu une jeune femme, mais sa force manquait de grains et de liqueurs réconfortantes: lorsque la force d'Ounas a attaqué la jeune femme, elle a donné du pain à Ounas, puis elle lui a servi de femme en ce jour."

the later copy of it given in the Papyrus of Nebseni; and it seems as if the ideas expressed in it found no favour with the cultured mind of Nebseni, the great designer, draughtsman, and artist, who was attached to the Temple of Ptah at Memphis. In a similar manner most of the coarse expressions and ideas which are found in the religious books of the old period have no counterparts in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. Moreover, as the balance of power moved southwards after the fall of the Vith Dynasty, the beliefs of the Heracleopolitans were grafted on to those of Memphis and Heliopolis, and they found expression in many interpolated passages. The doctrines also of the priests of Abydos were duly incorporated, those of the priests of Heliopolis were made to harmonize with them, and still later the priests of Amen-Râ at Thebes succeeded in obtaining recognition of the power of their god in a few Chapters. Over and above all this the natural evolution and development of religious thought must be taken into account, and, if it did not overthrow the old religious literature entirely, it must certainly have influenced priests and others in making the selection of texts which were written on their funerary papyri. The Egyptian masses were intensely conservative, and they clung to precedent and tradition to a remarkable degree; the older the text the more they revered it, and though they were tolerant enough to accept new settings of old thoughts, or new versions of old legends, they did not allow themselves to give up

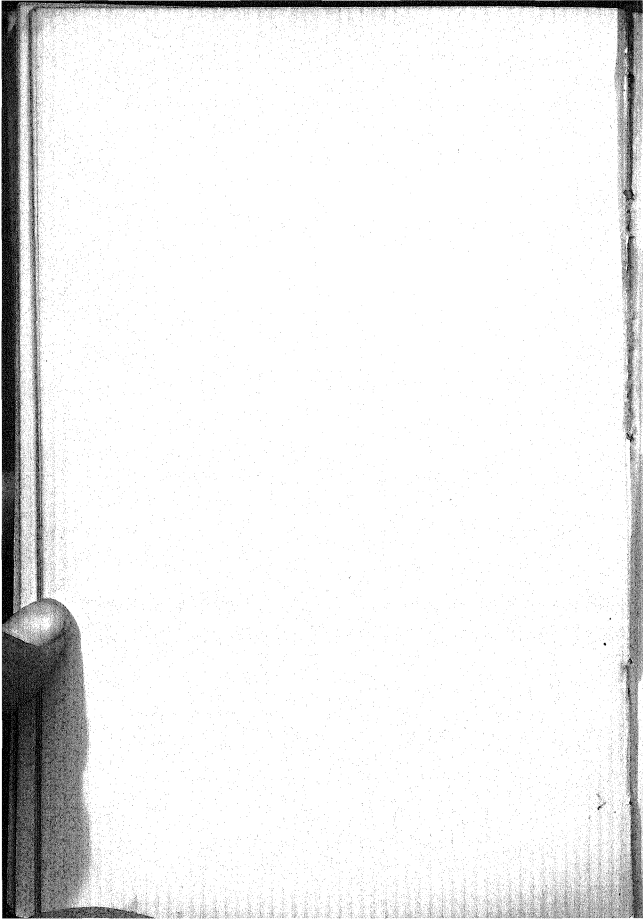
the old, but kept both the old *and* the new. The Book of the Dead contains beliefs of all periods gathered together from every part of Egypt and the Sūdān, and its gods, though perhaps under different names, were well known throughout the country. The forms of the beliefs and the attributes of the gods changed from time to time, but the principal doctrine which the *Book of the Dead*, as a whole, was intended to teach, i.e., the belief in immortality, never changed. The fundamentals of the Egyptian religion were:—

- I. Belief in the immortality of the soul, and the recognition of relatives and friends after death.
- II. Belief in the resurrection of a spiritual body, in which the soul lived after death.
- III. Belief in the continued existence of the heart-soul, the ka (the double), and the shadow.
- IV. Belief in the transmutation of offerings, and the efficacy of funerary sacrifices and gifts.
- V. Belief in the efficacy of words of power, including names, magical and religious formulae, &c.
- VI. Belief in the Judgment, the good being rewarded with everlasting life and happiness, and the wicked with annihilation.

All the above appear to be indigenous African beliefs, which existed in the Predynastic Period, and are current under various forms at the present day among most of the tribes of the Sūdān who have any religious belief at all.

Early in the Dynastic Period the cult of Osiris was introduced, and this god, whose mutilated body, tradition asserted, was reconstituted, became the centre round which all the beliefs enumerated above grouped themselves. During the whole Dynastic Period the cult of Osiris was the dominant feature of the Egyptian religion, and the same funerary rites were performed, and the same religious formulae were recited at Memphis during the early centuries of the Christian Era as under the dynasties of the Ancient Empire, in precisely the same way and with precisely the same object. The worship of ancestral spirits in the Pre-dynastic Period gave way to the cult of the deified man Osiris who had risen from the dead, but the ancient beliefs about the dead and their future state remained unchanged. With these morality had nothing to do, for breaches of morals, private or public, were only regarded as offences against Moral Law, which could be atoned for by gifts and offerings.



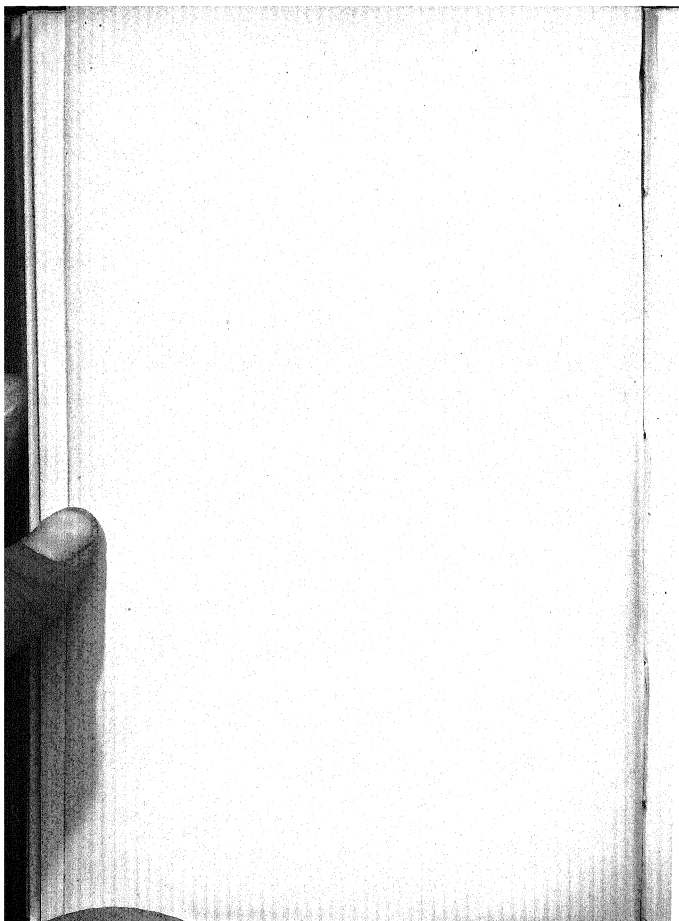


THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

TRANSLATION

VOL. I.

B



HYMNS INTRODUCTORY TO THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Hymn to Rā when he riseth.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 1).]



Vignette: The scribe Ani standing, with hands raised in adoration, before a table of offerings consisting of haunches of beef, loaves of bread, and cakes, vases of wine and oil, fruits, and flowers. He wears a fringed linen garment and has a wig, necklace, bracelets, &c. Behind him stands his wife Thuthu, a member of the College of Amen-Rā at Thebes; she is similarly robed and holds a sistrum, a vine branch, and a *menūt*, or emblem of pleasure, in her hands.¹

Text: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold

¹ The vignette which accompanies the hymn in the papyrus is broken in places; a more perfect one from another section of the papyrus is therefore substituted.

Osiris,¹ Ani the scribe of the holy offerings of all the gods, (2) who saith:—

“Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as Kheperà,
 “Kheperà² the creator of the gods. Thou risest, thou
 “shinest, (3) thou makest light [in] thy mother [the
 “goddess Nut³]; thou art crowned king of the gods.
 “[Thy] mother Nut doeth an act of homage unto thee
 “with both her hands. (4) The land of Manu⁴ re-
 “ceiveth thee with satisfaction, and the goddess Maât⁵
 “embraceth thee both at morn and at eve. May he
 “(i.e. Râ) give glory, and power, and triumph, (5) and
 “a coming forth as a living soul to see Hêru-khuti⁶
 “(i.e., Horus of the two horizons) to the double (ka)⁷

¹ The god who after death and mutilation upon earth rose again and became the king of the underworld and judge of the dead; he was the type of eternal existence, and the symbol of immortality. The deceased pleads the resurrection of this god as the reason for his own resurrection, and he always identifies himself with Osiris in funereal texts.

² He is a form of the rising sun, and his seat is in the boat of the Sun-god. He is the god of matter which is on the point of passing from inertness into life, and also of the dead body from which a spiritual and glorified body is about to burst forth. His emblem is a beetle.

³ The feminine principle of Nu, i.e., the watery mass out of which all the gods were evolved; she is the goddess of the sky, across which sailed the boat of the Sun-god.

⁴ Manu was the name of the mountain where the sun set in the west.

⁵ The wife of Thoth, and daughter of Râ; she assisted at the work of creation. She is the goddess of absolute regularity and order, and of moral rectitude, and of right and truth. Her emblem is the feather β .

⁶ He is a form of the Sun-god; the words “two horizons” refer to the mountains of Bakhatet and Manu, the most easterly and westerly points of the sun’s course, and the places where he rose and set.

⁷ The life of the ka L was sustained by the funeral offerings; its abiding place was the tomb.

"of Osiris, the scribe Ani, victorious before Osiris, (6)
 "who saith:—Hail, all ye gods of the Temple of the
 "Soul,¹ who weigh heaven and earth in the balance,
 "and who provide sepulchral meals² in abundance.
 "Hail, Tatunen,³ thou One, (7) thou Creator of man-
 "kind and Maker of the substance of the gods of the
 "south and of the north, of the west and of the east.
 "O come and acclaim ye Rā, the lord of heaven,
 "(8) the Prince (Life, Health, Strength!), the Creator
 "of the gods, and adore ye him in his beautiful form
 "at his rising in the *Ātet*⁴ boat. (9) They who dwell
 "in the heights and they who dwell in the depths⁵
 "worship thee. The god Thoth⁶ and the goddess
 "Maāt have written down [thy course] for thee daily
 "and every day. Thine enemy the serpent hath been
 "given over to (10) the fire, the serpent-fiend Sebāu
 "hath fallen down headlong; his arms have been
 "bound in chains, and his legs hath Rā hacked off
 "from him. The children of (11) impotent revolt shall
 "never more rise up. The Temple of the Aged One⁷

¹ The name of a part of the sky where the gods lived; a place which had a counterpart upon earth, probably at Annu (On, Heliopolis) and at Tattu (Mendes).

² *Tcheftau* was the name given to the food upon which the gods lived.

³ The god of the earth, and one of the oldest gods of Egypt; he is sometimes identified with Seb.

⁴ A name for the boat of the morning sun.

⁵ I.e., the gods who live in the heights and depths of heaven, or celestial and terrestrial beings.

⁶ The divine intelligence which at the creation uttered the words which resulted in the formation of the world. He was self-produced, and was lord of earth, air, sea, and sky; he was the scribe of the gods, and the inventor of all arts and sciences.

⁷ I.e., the Temple of Rā at Annu (On or Heliopolis).

"keepeth festival, and the voice of those who rejoice is
 "in the mighty dwelling. (12) The gods exult when
 "they see Rā as he riseth, and when his beams flood
 "the world with light. The Majesty (13) of the holy
 "god goeth forth and advanceth even unto the land of
 "Manu; he maketh brilliant the earth at his birth
 "each day: he journeyeth on to the place where he
 "was yesterday. (14) O be thou at peace with me,
 "and let me behold thy beauties;¹ may I journey forth
 "upon earth, may I smite the Ass;² may I crush
 "(15) the serpent-fiend Sebāu;³ may I destroy Āpep⁴
 "in his hour; may I see the *Abtu*⁵ fish at his season,
 "and the *Ant*⁵ fish [piloting] (16) the *Ant* boat in its
 "lake. May I see Horus acting as steersman, with
 "the god Thoth and the goddess Maāt, one on each
 "side of him; may I grasp the bows of the (17) *Sektet*
 "boat,⁶ and the stern of the *Ātet* boat. May he (*i.e.*,
 "Rā) grant unto the double (*ka*) of Osiris Ani to behold
 "the disk of the Sun and to see the Moon-god without
 "ceasing, each and every day; and (18) may my soul

¹ Or, "thy beautiful form."

² We should probably read, "May I smite the eater of the Ass," and consider the word "eater" to refer to the serpent who is seen attacking the Ass in the vignette of Chapter XL. Otherwise "Ass" must be the name of a fiend of darkness; but then again, it must be remembered that "Ass" is one of the names of the Sun-god.

³ Sebāu is, in reality, the name of a legion of devils.

⁴ The great antagonist of the Sun-god, of which many types are known.

⁵ The name of a mythological fish which, on coffins, &c., is seen swimming at the bows of the boat of the Sun-god.

⁶ A name for the boat of the setting sun.

"come forth and walk hither and thither (19) and
 "whithersoever it pleaseth. (20) May my name be
 "proclaimed (21), and may it be found upon the board
 "(22) of the table of offerings; may offerings (23) be
 "made unto me in my presence, even as [they are made
 "unto] the followers (24) of Horus; may there be made
 "ready for me (25) a seat in the boat of the Sun on the
 "day when (26) the god goeth forth; and may I be
 "received (27) into the presence of Osiris in the land of
 "victory."

Hymn to Rā when he riseth.

[From the Papyrus of Qenna (see Leemans, *Papyrus Égyptiens*,
 T. 2, Plate 2).]

Vignette: Qenna and his wife standing with hands raised in
 adoration.

Text: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE
 RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold
 Osiris, Qenna the merchant, (2) who saith:—

"Homage to thee, O Rā, when thou risest [and to
 "thee], O Temu,¹ in thy risings of beauty. Thou risest,
 "thou risest, thou shinest, (3) thou shinest, at dawn of
 "day. Thou art crowned king of the gods, and the
 "goddesses Maāti² perform an act of homage unto
 "thee. The company (4) of the gods praise thee from

¹ A form of Rā, and the type of the night sun; he was self-created, and was declared to be the creator of gods and men.

² The goddesses Isis and Nephthys are probably referred to here

“the places of sunrise and sunset. Thou passest over
 “the height of heaven and thy heart is filled with
 “gladness. The *Sektet* boat draweth on, and [Rā]
 “advanceth (5) in the *Ātet* boat with fair winds. Rā
 “rejoiceth, Rā rejoiceth. Thy father is Nu, thy
 “mother is Nut, O (6) thou who art crowned as
 “Rā-Heru-khuti¹ (Rā-Harmachis), thy divine boat
 “advanceth in peace. [Thine enemy] hath been given
 “over [to the flame, and he] hath fallen; his head hath
 “been cut off. (7) The heart of the Lady of Life
 “(i.e., Isis) is glad [because] the foe² of her lord hath
 “fallen headlong. The mariners of Rā have content of
 “heart and Annu (Heliopolis) exulteth.” (8)

The merchant Qenna, victorious, saith:—

“I have come to thee, O Lord of the gods, Temu-
 “Heru-khuti³ (Temu-Harmachis) whom Maat directeth
 “(9) I know that whereby thou dost live.⁴
 “Grant thou that I may be like unto one of those who
 “are thy favoured ones (10) [among] the followers of
 “the Great God; may my name be proclaimed, may it
 “be found, may it be set (11) with their [names?].
 “The oar[s] have been taken into the *Sektet* boat, and
 “the boat of the Sun advanceth in peace. (12) May I
 “see Rā when he appeareth in the sky at dawn and
 “when his Enemy hath fallen at the block. (13) May

¹ A form of the rising sun.

² I.e., Apep (see p. 6, note 4).

³ I.e., the forms of the Sun-god in the evening and morning.

⁴ The gods live by *maat*, i.e., never-failing and unalterable regularity and order.

"I see Horus working the rudder on each side and
 "bringing along the boat. May I see the *Abtu* fish at
 "[its] time of (14) coming into being (?); may I see
 "the *Ant* fish as it becometh the pilot of the *Ant* boat
 "in its waters. O thou only One, O thou Perfect One,
 "O thou (15) who dost endure, who sufferest never an
 "evil moment, who canst not be smitten down by him
 "that doeth deeds of might, none other shall have
 "power and might over the things which belong to
 "thee. (16) None shall obtain by fraud possession of
 "the things which belong to the divine Father, who
 "hath need of abundance, the tongue (?) of veneration,
 "(17) the lord of *Abtu* (Abydos)."

The merchant Qenna, victorious, saith: "Homage
 "to thee, O Heru-khuti-Temu Heru (18) Kheperá,¹
 "thou mighty hawk, who makest glad the body [of
 "man], thou beautiful of face by reason of thy two
 "great plumes! Awake, (19) O lord of beauty, at
 "dawn when the company of the gods and mortals say
 "unto thee, 'Hail!' They (20) sing hymns of praise
 "unto thee at eventide, and the starry deities also
 "adore thee. O thou firstborn, who dost lie motionless
 "(21), thy mother sheweth loving-kindness unto thee
 "daily. Rā liveth, and the serpent-fiend Nāk² is dead;
 "thou art in good case, for thine enemy (22) hath fallen
 "headlong. Thou sailest over heaven with life and

I.e., Harmachis-Tem-Horus-Kheperá, or four forms of the Sun-god.

² An active opponent of the Sun-god.

"strength. The goddess Nehebka¹ is in the *Atet* boat, "and thy boat rejoiceth; (23) thy heart is glad, and "the two uraei goddesses rise upon thy brow."

Hymn to Rā when he riseth.

[From the Papyrus of Qenna (see Leemans, *Papyrus Égyptiens*, T. 2, Plate 4).]

Vignette: Qenna and his wife standing with hands raised in adoration.

Text: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris, Qenna the merchant, victorious,² (2) who saith:—

"Homage to thee, O thou who risest in Nu, and "who at thy manifestation dost make the world bright "with light; the whole company of gods sing hymns "of praise unto thee after thou hast come forth. "(3) The divine Merti³ who minister unto thee

¹ The goddess of matter revived.

² The words rendered "victorious" are *maā kheru*, and mean, literally, "right" (*maā*) and "word," or, "voice" (*kheru*). They indicate a belief on the part of the writer that the deceased by means of the ceremonies which have been performed, and the words which have been said, on his behalf, has satisfactorily passed the ordeal of judgment, and has attained to a state of knowledge which will enable him to utter commands, whatever they may be, in such a manner as will cause them to be carried out by those to whom they are addressed, whether gods or devils.

³ I.e., the "Two Eyes," a name given to the goddesses Isis and Nephthys who, in the form of two serpents, have their places on the head of the Sun-god.

“cherish thee as King of the North and South, thou
“beautiful and beloved Man-child. When thou risest,
“men and women live. (4) The nations rejoice in
“thee, and the Souls of Ānnu (Heliopolis) sing unto
“thee songs of joy. (5) The souls of the cities of
“Pe¹ and Nekhen² exalt thee, the apes of dawn adore
“thee, and (6) all beasts and cattle praise thee with
“one accord. The goddess Sebā overthroweth thine
“enemies, therefore rejoice thou within (7) thy boat;
“thy mariners are content thereat. Thou hast attained
“unto the Ātēt boat, and thy heart swelleth with joy.
“O lord of the gods, when thou didst create (8) them
“they ascribed unto thee praises. The azure goddess
“Nut doth compass thee on every side, and the god
“Nu³ (9) floodeth thee with his rays of light. O cast
“thou thy light upon me and let me see thy beauties,
“me the Osiris (10) Qenna the merchant, victorious,
“and when thou goest forth over the earth I will sing
“praises unto thy fair face. Thou risest in heaven’s
“horizon, (11) and [thy] disk is adored [when] it
“resteth upon the mountain to give life unto the
“world.”

Saith Qenna the merchant, victorious: (12) “Thou
“risest, thou risest, and thou comest forth from the
“god Nu. Thou dost renew thy youth and thou dost
“set thyself in the place where thou wast yesterday.

¹ I.e., Buto, a city in the Delta.

² A very ancient city in Upper Egypt, supposed to be near Eileithyriapolis.

³ Nu is here regarded as the god of the sky.

"O divine youth who hast created thyself, (13) I am
 "not able [to describe] thee. Thou hast come with
 "thy diadems,¹ and thou hast made heaven and earth
 "bright with thy rays of pure emerald light. (14) The
 "land of Punt² is stablished [to give] the perfumes
 "which thou smellest with thy nostrils. Thou risest,
 "O marvellous Being,³ (15) in heaven, the two serpent-
 "goddesses Merti are stablished upon thy brow, and
 "thou art the giver of laws, O lord of the world and of
 "the inhabitants thereof; (16) all the gods and Qenna
 "the merchant, victorious, adore thee."

Hymn to Rā when he riseth.

[From the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (Brit. Mus. No. 9901, sheet 1).]

Text: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE
 RISETH IN THE (2) EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold
 Osiris, Hu-nefer, (3) victorious, who saith:—

"Homage to thee, O thou who art Rā when thou
 "risest (4) and Temu when thou settest. Thou risest,
 "thou risest, thou shinest, thou shinest, (5) thou who

¹ Or, "in thy rising."

² A district situated near the most easterly part of Somali land, which was famous in antiquity as the home of the spice and incense trees.

³ Or, "Being of iron." According to one view, the floor of heaven consisted of an iron plate through holes in which the lamps of the stars were hung out.

"art crowned king of the gods. Thou art the lord of
 "heaven, [thou art] the lord of earth; [thou art] the
 "creator of those who dwell (6) in the heights and of
 "those who dwell in the depths.¹ [Thou art] the God
 "One who came into being (7) in the beginning of
 "time. Thou didst create the earth, thou didst fashion
 "man, (8) thou didst make the watery abyss of the
 "sky, thou didst form Hāpi,² thou didst create the
 "watery abyss, (9) and thou dost give life unto all that
 "therein is. Thou hast knit together the mountains,
 "thou hast made (10) mankind and the beasts of the
 "field to come into being, thou hast made the heavens
 "and the earth. Worshipped be thou whom the
 "goddess Maāt embraceth at morn and at eve. Thou
 "dost travel across the sky with heart swelling with
 "joy; the Lake of Testes³ (11) becometh contented
 "thereat. The serpent-fiend Nāk hath fallen and his
 "two arms are cut off. The *Sektet* boat receiveth fair
 "winds, and the heart of him that is in the shrine
 "thereof rejoiceth. Thou art crowned (12) Prince of
 "heaven, thou art the One dowered [with all sove-
 "reignty] who comest forth from the sky. Rā is
 "victorious! O thou divine youth, thou heir of
 "everlastingness, thou self-begotten one, O thou who

¹ Or, "creator of the starry gods in heaven above and of the dwellers upon earth below."

² I.e., the god of the Nile, who was worshipped under two forms, Hāpi of the South, and Hāpi of the North; he is represented as a man having the breasts of a woman, which indicate fertility, and crowned with lotus and papyrus flowers.

³ A name of heaven (?).

“didst give thyself birth! O One (13), mighty [one],
 “of myriad forms and aspects, king of the world,
 “Prince of Annu (Heliopolis), lord of eternity and
 “ruler of everlastingness,¹ the company of the gods
 “rejoice when thou risest and when thou sailest
 “(14) across the sky, O thou who art exalted in the
 “*Sektet* boat.”

“Homage to thee, O Amen-Rā, who dost rest upon
 “Maāt,² and who passest over the heaven, every face
 “seeth thee. Thou dost wax great (15) as thy Majesty
 “doth advance, and thy rays are upon all faces. Thou
 “art unknown and no tongue is worthy (?) to declare
 “thy likeness; only thou thyself [canst do this]. Thou
 “art One, even as is he (16) that bringeth the *tenā*
 “basket. Men praise thee in thy name [Rā], and they
 “swear by thee, for thou art lord over them. Thou
 “hearest with thine ears and thou seest with thine
 “eyes. (17) Millions of years have gone over the
 “world; I cannot tell the number of those through
 “which thou hast passed. Thy heart hath decreed a
 “day of happiness in thy name of ‘Traveller.’ Thou
 “dost pass over (18) and dost travel through untold
 “spaces [requiring] millions and hundreds of thousands
 “of years [to pass over]; thou passest through them in
 “peace, and thou steerest thy way across the watery
 “abyss to the place which thou lovest; this thou doest

¹ Or, “who endurest through everlastingness.”

² I.e., “thou whose existence and whose risings and settings are ordered and defined by fixed, unchanging, and unalterable laws.”

"in one (19) little moment of time, and then thou dost
 "sink down and dost make an end of the hours."

Behold Osiris, the governor of the palace of the lord
 of the two lands,¹ Hu-nefer, victorious, saith: (20)
 "Hail, my lord, thou who passest through eternity,
 "whose being is everlasting. Hail, thou Disk, lord of
 "beams of light, thou risest and thou makest all man-
 "kind to live. Grant thou that I may behold thee at
 "dawn each day."

Hymn to Rā when he riseth.

[From the Papyrus of Nekht (Brit. Mus. No. 10,471, sheet 21).]

Text: A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ by Nekht, the
 royal scribe, the captain of soldiers, who saith:—

"Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who
 "art dowered [with all sovereignty]. O Tem Heru-khuti
 "(Tem-Harmachis), when thou risest in the horizon of
 "heaven, a cry of joy cometh forth to thee from the
 "mouth of all peoples. O thou beautiful Being, thou
 "dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the
 "Disk within thy mother Hathor;² therefore in every
 "place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising, for

¹ The king here referred to is Seti I., who began to reign about
 B.C. 1370.

² The goddess of those portions of the sky in which the sun rose
 and set.

“ever. The regions of the North and South come to
“thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at thy
“rising in the horizon of heaven; thou illuminest the
“two lands with rays of turquoise light. O Rā, thou
“who art Hēru-khuti (Harmachis), the divine man-
“child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and self-born,
“king of earth, prince of the Tuat,¹ governor of the
“regions of Aukert;² thou comest forth from the
“water, thou hast sprung from the god Nu, who
“cherisheth thee and ordereth thy members. O thou
“god of life, thou lord of love, all men live when thou
“shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The
“goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and the goddess
“Maāt embraceth thee at all times. Those who are in
“thy following sing unto thee with joy and bow down
“their foreheads to the earth when they meet thee,
“thou lord of heaven, thou lord of earth, thou king of
“Right and Truth, thou lord of eternity, thou prince
“of everlastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods,
“thou god of life, thou creator of eternity, thou maker
“of heaven wherein thou art firmly established! The
“company of the gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is
“glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the peoples that
“have been long dead come forth with cries of joy to
“see thy beauties every day. Thou goest forth each
“day over heaven and earth and art made strong each

¹ The name of a district or region, neither in heaven nor upon earth, where the dead dwelt, and through which the sun passed during the night.

² A name of the underworld.

"day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest through the
 "heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and
 "the Lake of Testes¹ is content thereat. The Serpent-
 "fiend hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife
 "hath cut asunder his joints. Rā liveth by *Maāt*² the
 "beautiful. The *Sektet* boat draweth on and cometh
 "into port; the South and the North, the West and
 "the East turn to praise thee, O thou primeval
 "substance of the earth who didst come into being of
 "thine own accord. Isis³ and Nephthys⁴ salute thee,
 "they sing unto thee songs of joy at thy rising in the
 "boat, they protect thee with their hands. The souls
 "of the East follow thee, the souls of the West praise
 "thee. Thou art the ruler of all the gods and thou
 "hast joy of heart within thy shrine; for the serpent-
 "fiend Nāk hath been condemned to the fire, and thy
 "heart shall be joyful for ever. Thy mother Nut is
 "adjudged to thy father Nu."

¹ A name of heaven (?).

² I.e., "Rā liveth by unchanging and eternal law and order."

³ The daughter of Seb and Nut, the wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus.

⁴ The daughter of Seb and Nut, the wife of Set, the sister of Isis and Osiris, and the mother of Anubis.

Hymn to Osiris Un-nefer.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 2).]



Vignette: The scribe Ani standing, with both hands raised in adoration, before a table of offerings consisting of haunches of beef, loaves of bread and cakes, vases of wine and oil, fruits and flowers, &c. He wears a double linen garment and a wig, bracelets, &c. Behind him stands his wife Thuthu, a member of the College of Amen-Râ at Thebes; she is similarly robed and holds a sistrum, a vine branch, and a *menât* in her hands.

Text: (1) "Glory be to Osiris Un-nefer, the great "god within Âbtu (Abydos), king of eternity, lord of "everlastingness, who passeth through millions of years "in his existence. Eldest son of the (2) womb of Nut, "engendered by Seb¹ the Erpât,² lord of the crowns of

¹ He was the son of Shu and Tefnut, husband of Nut, and father by her of Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys, and Horus dwelling in darkness.

² I.e., the great ancestor of the tribe of the gods.

"the North and South, lord of the lofty white crown:
 "as prince of gods and of men (3) he hath received the
 "crook, and the whip, and the dignity of his divine
 "fathers. Let thy heart, which is in the Mountain of
 "Āment,¹ be content, for thy son Horus is established
 "upon thy throne. (4) Thou art crowned lord of
 "Tattu² and ruler in Abtu (Abydos). Through thee
 "the world waxeth green in (5) triumph before the might
 "of Neb-er-tcher.³ He leadeth in his train that which
 "is, and that which is not yet, in his name of 'Ta-her-
 "(6) sta-nef';⁴ he toweth along the earth by Maat in
 "his name of 'Seker';⁵ he is exceedingly mighty (7)
 "and most terrible in his name 'Osiris';⁶ he endureth
 "for ever and for ever⁷ in his name of 'Un-nefer.'"

(8) "Homage to thee, King of kings, Lord of lords,
 "Prince of princes, who from the womb of Nut hast
 "ruled (9) the world and Ākert.⁸ Thy body is of
 "bright and shining metal, thy head is of azure blue,
 "and the brilliance of the turquoise encircleth thee.

¹ The "hidden" place, or abode of the dead, which was usually situated on the left or western bank of the Nile.

² Two cities in Egypt bore the name "Tattu," viz., Busiris and Mendes.

³ I.e., the "lord of all." In the Book of the Dead Osiris is frequently called by this name, the allusion being to the complete reconstruction of his body after it had been hacked to pieces by Set.

⁴ A name meaning something like "he leadeth the earth."

⁵ A play on the sounds of the words *sek*, "to pull along," and *seker*, "he who is coffined," is here intended.

⁶ A play on the sounds of the words *user*, "strong," and *Asar*. "Osiris," is here intended.

⁷ A play on the words *un*, "to exist," and *un* in the proper name "Un-nefer" is here intended.

⁸ A name of the underworld.

"O god An¹ of millions of years, (10) all-pervading with
"thy body and beautiful in countenance in Ta-tchesert,²
"grant thou to the *Ka* (*i.e.*, double) of Osiris, the scribe
"Ani, splendour in heaven, and might upon earth, and
"triumph in the underworld; and grant that I may
"sail down (11) to Tattu like a (12) living soul and up
"to (13) Abtu (Abydos) like a *Bennu*³ bird; and that
"I may go in and come out (14) without repulse at the
"pylons⁴ (15) of the lords of the underworld. May
"there be given unto me (16) loaves of bread in the
"house of coolness, and (17) offerings of food in Annu
"(Heliopolis), and a homestead (18) for ever in
"Sekhet-Aru⁵ with wheat and barley therefor."

¹ A form of the Sun-god; he is mentioned again in Chapter XV.

² A name of the underworld.

³ The *Bennu* is commonly identified with the phoenix.

⁴ For the twenty-one pylons of the House of Osiris see Chapter CXLV.

⁵ A division of the Sekhet-Hetepu or "Elysian Fields," for which see Chapter CX.

THE JUDGMENT.

THE Judgment Scene, of which a description is here given, forms a very important section of the Book of the Dead as contained in papyri of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and following Dynasties. It follows the two or more hymns with which a large papyrus opens, and seems to occupy a suitable place, and to form a fitting introduction to the selections of the chapters of Coming Forth by Day which follow it. These chapters refer to and deal with the events which took place in the life of the deceased, who has succeeded in entering the realm of Osiris, the god of the dead, but they, of necessity, were absolutely useless to any one who had not passed the judgment and been permitted by this god to enter his dominions. Those who were condemned in the judgment were devoured straightway by the Eater of the Dead, and ceased to exist. The Judgment Scene, as given in the large papyri, seems to have been developed from the vignette which illustrates one of the Chapters of the Heart (XXXB.), in which special reference is made to the weighing of the heart, or from one which, properly speaking, belonged to the CXXVth Chapter. Where and when the judgment took place is unknown, but the original idea seems to have been

that the broad heavens, or a certain portion of them, formed the Judgment Hall, and that the judgment took place in the presence of the three Companies of the gods; as the head of the funereal Company Osiris occupied a very prominent position, and he eventually became the sole judge of the dead. The judgment of each individual seems to have taken place soon after death, and annihilation or everlasting life and bliss to have been decreed at once for the souls of the dead; there are no sufficient grounds for assuming that the Egyptians believed either in a general resurrection, or in protracted punishment. How far they thought that the prayers of the living for the dead were efficacious in arresting or modifying the decree of doom cannot be said, but very considerable importance was attached by them to funeral prayers and ceremonies in all ages, and there is no doubt that they were the outcome of the firm belief that they would result in the salvation and well-being of the souls of the dead.

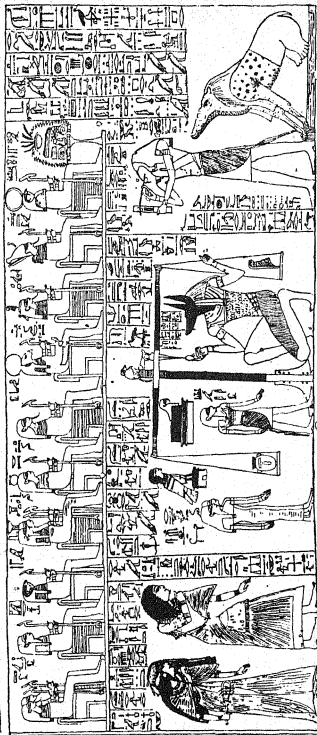
The Scene of the Weighing of the Heart of the Dead.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, plates 3 and 4).]

Vignette: The scribe Ani and his wife Thuthu enter the Hall of Double Maat, wherein the heart, symbolic of the conscience, is to be weighed in the balance against the feather, emblematical of Right and Truth. In the upper register are the gods who sit in judgment, whose names are "Harmachis, the great god in his boat, Temu, Shu, Tefnut the lady of heaven,

THE JUDGMENT.

Hu and So. Hathor. Horus. Isis. Nephthys. Nut. Seb. Tefnut. Shu. Temu. Harnechis.



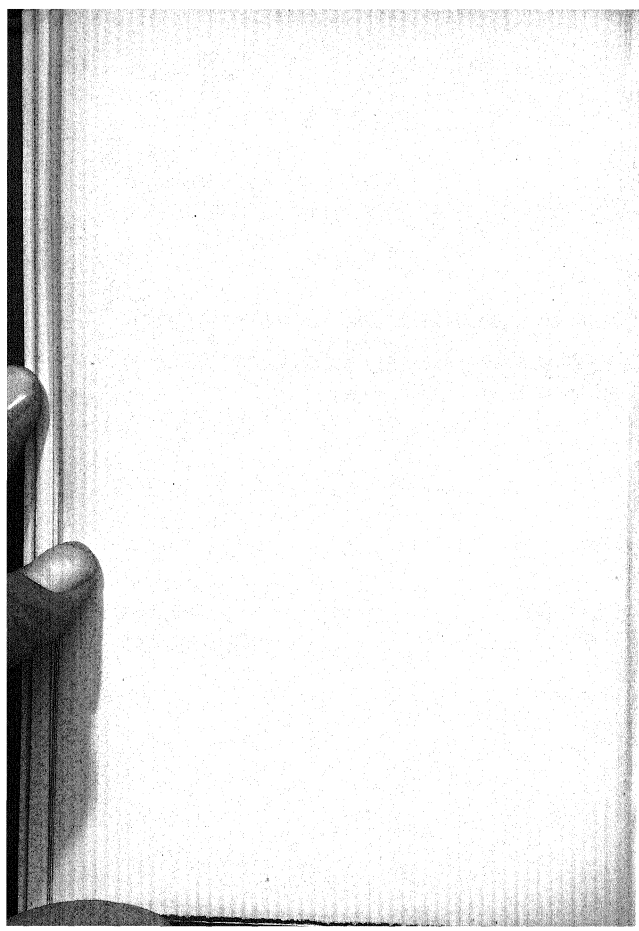
Ani and his wife Thuthu.

Meakheut. Ani's
Revenet. heart.

The
Luck.

Anubis. The feather
of Maat.

Thoth. The "Enter of the Dead."



Seb, Nut the lady of heaven, Isis, Nephthys, Horus the great god, Hathor the lady of Amenta, Hu and Sa." On the standard of the scales sits the dog-headed ape, the companion of Thoth, the scribe of the gods; and the god Anubis, jackal-headed, tests the tongue of the balance. On the left of the balance, facing Anubis are:—(1) Ani's "Luck"; (2) the *Mesken* or "cubit with human head," thought by some to be connected with the place of birth; (3) the goddesses Meskenet and Renenet who presided over the birth, birth-place, and early education of children; and (4) the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed bird standing on a pylon. On the right of the balance, behind Anubis, stands Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who holds in his hands his reed-pen and palette with which to record the result of the trial. Behind Thoth stands the monster called either Amām, the "Devourer," or Ām-mit, the "Eater of the Dead."

Text: Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:—

"My¹ heart my mother, my heart my mother, my heart my coming into being. May there be nothing to resist me at [my] judgment; may there be no opposition to me from the *Tchatcha*; ² may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him that keepeth the scales. Thou art my *Ka* (*i.e.*, double) within my body [which] knitteth together and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth to the place of happiness to which I am advancing. May the *Shenit* ³ not cause my name to stink, and may no lies be spoken against me in the

¹ This speech of Ani is actually Chapter XXXb. (*q.v.*), but the last line has been omitted by the scribe for want of room.

² *I.e.*, the "Heads" or "Chiefs." The *Tchatcha* of Osiris were Kesthā, Hāpi, Tuamutef and Qebhsennuf.

³ *I.e.*, divine officials.

"presence of the god. Good, good is it for thee to
"hear"

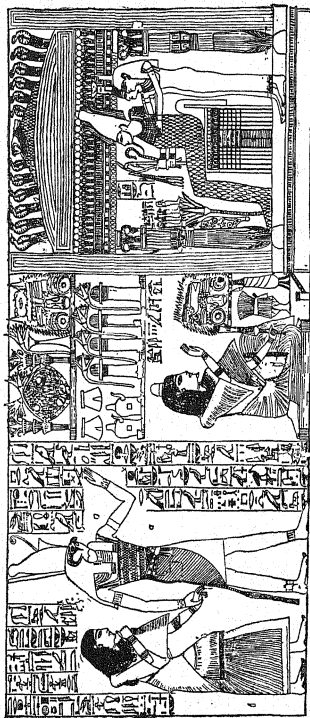
Thoth, the judge of Right and Truth of the great company of the gods who are in the presence of Osiris, saith :—"Hear ye this judgment. The heart of "Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his soul "hath stood as a witness for him; it hath been found "true by trial in the Great Balance. There hath not "been found any wickedness in him; he hath not "wasted the offerings in the temples; he hath not "done harm by his deeds; and he hath uttered no evil "reports while he was upon earth."

The great company of the gods reply to Thoth who dwelleth in Khemennu (Hermopolis):—"That which "cometh forth from thy mouth shall be declared true. "Osiris, the scribe Ani victorious, is holy and righteous. "He hath not sinned, neither hath he done evil against "us. It shall not be allowed to the devourer Amemet "to prevail over him. Meat-offerings and entrance "into the presence of the god Osiris shall be granted "unto him, together with a homestead for ever in "Sekhet-*hetepu*,¹ as unto the followers of Horus."

Vignette: The scribe Ani is led by Horus, the son of Isis, into the presence of Osiris who is enthroned within a shrine in the form of a funeral chest. Osiris has upon his head the *Atef* crown, and he holds in his hands the crook, the sceptre and the whip, emblematic of authority, dominion, and sovereignty; from his neck hangs the *menât*. His title here is "Osiris, the

¹ See Chapter CX.

THE JUDGMENT.

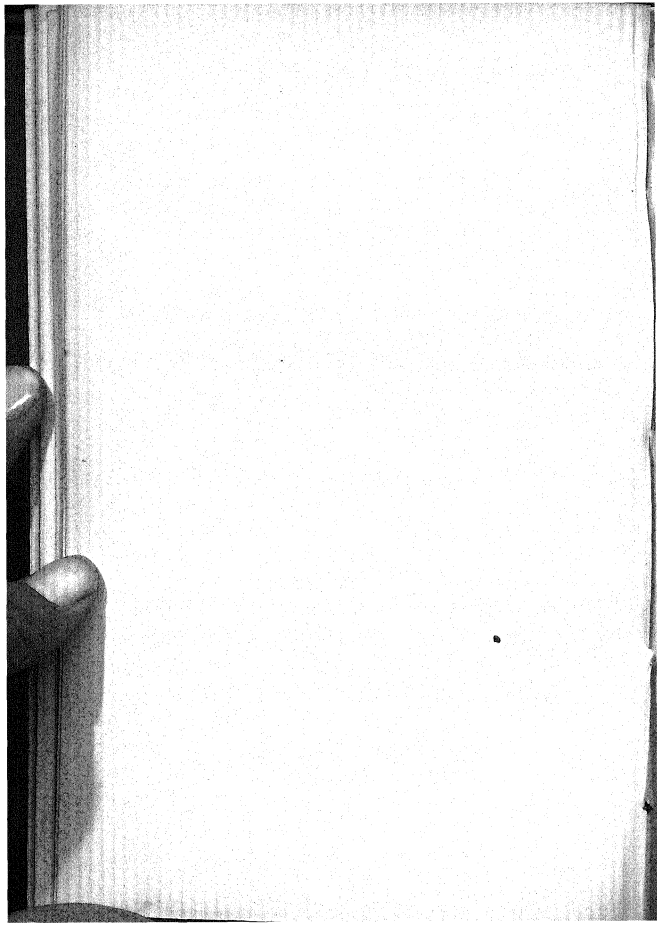


Horus, the Son
of Isis.

Ani kneeling in adoration
before Osiris.

Ani.

Osiris in his shrine, with Isis, Nephthys,
and the four children of Horus.



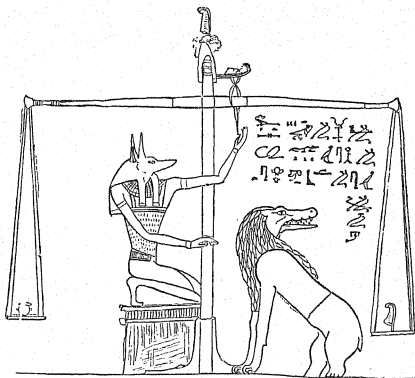
lord of everlastingness." Behind him stand Nephthys, his sister, on his right hand and Isis, his sister and wife, on his left. Before him, standing on a lotus flower, are the gods of the cardinal points or, as they are sometimes called, "the Children of Horus" and "Children of Osiris." The first, Kesthá, has the head of a man; the second, Hāpi, the head of an ape; the third, Tuamutef, the head of a jackal; and the fourth, Qebhsennuf, the head of a hawk. Near the lotus hangs the skin of an animal. The side of the throne of Osiris is painted to resemble that of a funeral chest. The roof of the shrine is supported on pillars with lotus capitals, and is surmounted by a figure of Horus-Sept or Horus-Seker, and by rows of uraei. The pedestal on which the shrine rests is in the form of the hieroglyphic which is emblematic of *Maât* or "Right and Truth." Before the shrine is a table of offerings by which, on a reed mat, kneels Ani with his right hand raised in adoration; in the left hand he holds the *Kherp* sceptre. He wears on his head a whitened wig and the so-called "cone," the signification of which is unknown.

Text: (1) Saith Horus the son of Isis: "I have come to thee, O Un-nefer, and I have brought unto thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is [found] righteous, (2) and it hath come forth from the balance; it hath not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree pronounced (3) unto him by the company of the gods; and it is most true and righteous. Grant that cakes and ale may be given unto him, and let him appear in the presence of the god Osiris; (4) and let him be like unto the followers of Horus for ever and for ever."

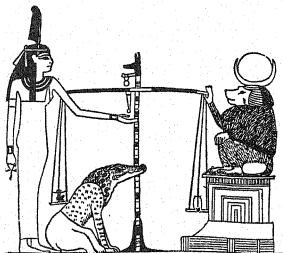
(1) And Osiris Ani (2) saith: "Behold, I am in thy presence, O lord of (3) Amentet. There is no sin in my (4) body. I have not spoken that which is not

“true (5) knowingly, nor have I done aught with a
 “false heart. Grant thou that I may be like unto
 “those favoured ones who are in thy following, (6) and
 “that I may be an Osiris greatly favoured of the
 “beautiful god, and beloved of the lord of the world.
 “[I] who am, indeed, a royal scribe who loveth thee,
 “Ani, victorious before the god Osiris.”

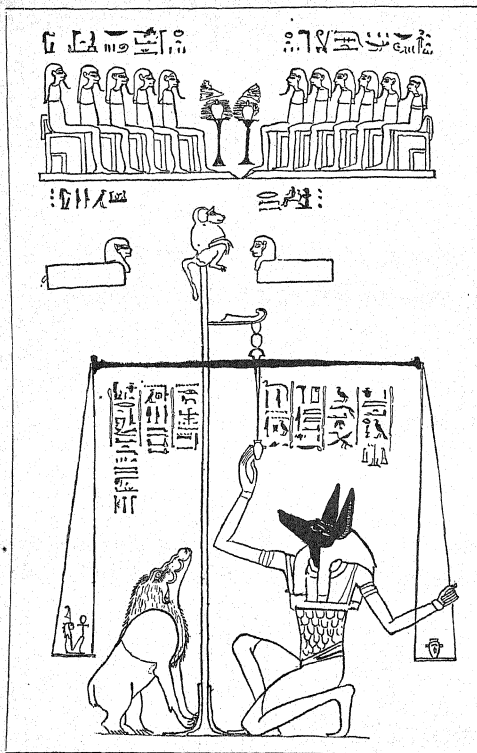
The details of the Judgment Scene vary considerably in the papyri of different periods, and it seems as if every scribe or artist felt himself free to follow out his own ideas of its treatment. First, as regards the Great Balance. The beam is always exactly horizontal, a fact which proves that the Egyptian was only asked to make his heart or conscience just to counterbalance, and *not* outweigh the feather of Maät. The pillar of the Balance is at times (see pp. 23 and 32) surmounted by the ape of Thoth, at others by the head of Maät (see p. 31), at others by the head of Anubis (see p. 31), and at others by the head of Thoth himself. The feather of Maät, β , which is in one pan of the scales, is often exchanged for the figure of the goddess herself 𓆎 (see p. 32). The actual weighing of the heart is performed sometimes by Anubis (see pp. 31, 32), and sometimes by Maät (see p. 31); usually the deceased enters the Hall of Judgment alone or accompanied by his wife, but sometimes he is led in by Anubis, and sometimes by a dog-headed god who carries a knife in his left hand. The Eater of the Dead sometimes sits,



The Weighing of the Heart. (From the Papyrus of Hu-nefer.)



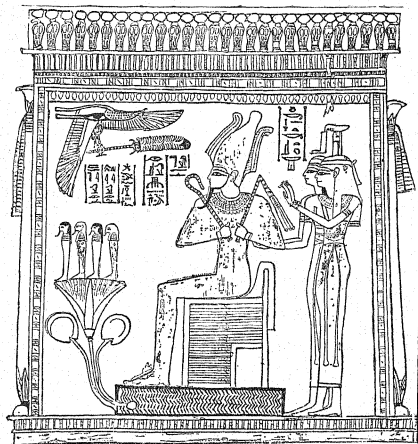
The Weighing of the Heart. (From the Papyrus of Qenna.)



The Weighing of the Heart (from the Papyrus of Anhai).

and sometimes stands by the side of the pillar of the Balance; in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (see p. 31) a description of her appears above her head, thus:—
 “Am-mit, her forepart [is that of] crocodiles, her hind-part [is that of a] hippopotamus, and her middle [is that of a] lion.” In details the Judgment Scene as given in the Papyrus of Ani is very full (see p. 23), and very few papyri contain the “Luck” and the nursing goddesses Meskhenet and Renenet in human form. The arrangement of one part of the Scene in the Papyrus of Anhai (see p. 32) is most unusual. In the upper register we have the Great and Little Companies of the gods arranged facing each other; the former contains five gods and the latter six. Now a *part*, or Company of gods, rarely contained less than nine gods, though often more. Each Company is seated before a meagre table of offerings. Below these gods are two human-headed objects which are called respectively Shai and Renenet; each has the head of a woman, but one, Shai, should have had that of a man, and a beard. It is noteworthy that the Eater of the Dead is not seated by Anubis, and that the god Anubis grasps one of the cords by which the pan of the Balance that contains the heart is suspended, as if to steady the beam. The text above the head of Anubis is unusual (see also the Scene from the Papyrus of Ani, p. 23), and contains an exhortation addressed to the ape of Thoth seated on the top of the pillar, that this god will give his careful attention to the correct weighing of the heart of the

deceased in the Balance. The text above the Eater of the Dead is a prayer by the deceased, who entreats the god, saying, "Set my heart upon the throne of right in the presence of the Great God." The result of the weighing of the heart is always noted by Thoth, who records it upon his palette. The deceased is sometimes led into the presence of Osiris by Horus, the son of Isis, and sometimes by Anubis. In papyri wherein the vignettes are not very elaborate, Osiris stands or sits in his shrine alone, but in fully illustrated papyri he is accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, and by the four children of Horus, who stand on a lotus flower (see pp. 27, 35). The stem of this flower springs from out of the waters of a lake, whereon the throne of Osiris is placed (see the following illustration from the Papyrus of Hu-nefer); this lake was fed by the celestial Nile, or by one of its branches, and was the source whence the beatified, as well as the gods, drank. This scene is of considerable interest from the point of view of comparative mythology, for many Semitic writers held the opinion that the throne of the deity was placed, or rested upon, a stream of water, or a river. Even in the Book of Revelation we have a reference to a "pure river of water, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God" (see chapter xxii. 1).



The god Osiris seated in his shrine in the Hall of Judgment.
(From the Papyrus of Hu-nefer.)

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.



The bier being drawn to the tomb preceded by a priest burning incense, and followed by attendants bearing funeral furniture.



Men bearing offerings.

Weeping women.

Animals for sacrifice.




Priests reading the funeral service and performing ceremonies before the mummy in front of the tomb.

CHAPTER I.

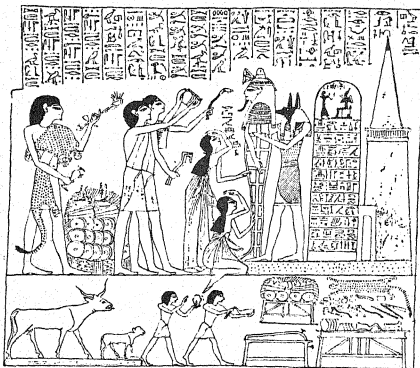
[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheets 5 and 6).]

Vignettes: The funeral procession to the tomb, and the ceremony thereat, are here depicted. The mummy of the deceased, lying in a funeral chest placed in a boat, is being drawn along by oxen: figures of the goddesses Nephthys and Isis stand at the head and foot respectively. By the side kneels the wife of the deceased. In front of the boat stands the *Sem* priest, dressed in a panther's skin, burning incense and sprinkling water, and behind follow eight male mourners; in the rear are servants drawing a small funeral chest surmounted by a figure of Anubis, and carrying vases of unguents along with the couch, staff, chair, palette, &c., of the deceased. Preceding the oxen drawing the funeral boat are men carrying on yokes boxes of flowers, vases of unguents, &c., and a group of wailing women with uncovered heads and breasts, who smite their heads and faces in token of grief. Close by stand a cow and her calf, intended to be slaughtered for the funeral feast, and tables loaded with offerings of herbs, fruits, &c. At the door of the tomb stands the god of the dead, Anubis, clasping the mummy of the deceased, before which kneels the weeping wife. At a table of funeral offerings stand two priests. One, the *Sem* priest, wears a panther's skin and holds in his hand a libation vase and censer; the other holds in his right hand the instrument UR HEKA¹ in the form of a ram-headed serpent, the head of which is surmounted by an uraeus, and in his left hand an instrument in the shape of an adze. With the former he is about to touch the mouth

¹ *I.e.*, the "mighty one of enchantments."

and eyes of the mummy, and with the latter the mouth. On the ground, by their side, lie the instruments which are to be employed in the ceremony of opening the mouth, *i.e.*, the ceremony which will give the deceased the power to eat, and to drink, and to talk in the next world, namely the *Meskhket* , the group of instruments in the form of adzes , the *Pesh-en-kef* , the libation vases, the boxes of purification, the bandlet, the feather, &c. Behind them stands the "Reader," who recites the funeral service from a papyrus roll, and to the rear is a ministrant who holds the haunch of beef which is to be used in the ceremony at the door of the tomb.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES AT THE TOMB.



In the upper register we see the tomb in the Theban hills, with a sepulchral stele inscribed with prayers by the deceased. Anubis supports the mummy, before which kneel Hu-nefer's wife, and, probably, his daughter. Two priests performing ceremonies connected with "opening the mouth," and the "Reader" burning incense and sprinkling water. In the lower register are the instruments used in the ceremonies, priests, and animals for sacrifice.

Text: (1) HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF "COMING FORTH BY DAY," AND OF THE SONGS OF PRAISE AND GLORIFYING, (2) AND OF COMING FORTH FROM, AND OF GOING INTO THE GLORIOUS NETER-KHERT¹ IN THE BEAUTIFUL ÂMENTET, WHICH ARE TO BE RECITED ON (3) THE DAY OF THE BURIAL [WHEREBY THE DECEASED] SHALL GO IN AFTER COMING FORTH.

Saith Osiris Ani, (4) Osiris the scribe Ani:—

"Homage to thee, O Bull of Âmentet,² the god "Thoth, (5) the king of eternity, is with me. I am "the Great God near the divine boat, I have fought "(6) for thee. I am one of the gods, those divine "chiefs, who make (7) Osiris to be victorious over his "enemies on the day of the weighing of words. (8) I "am thy mediator (?), O Osiris. I am [one] of the "gods (9) born of the goddess Nut, who slay the foes "of Osiris and who hold in bondage (10) for him the "fiend Sebâu. I am thy mediator (?), O Horus. (11) I "have fought for thee, and I have put to flight the "enemy for thy name's sake. I am Thoth, who made "Osiris to be victorious³ (12) over his enemies on the "day of the weighing of words⁴ (13) in the great House "of the Aged One (*i.e.*, Râ) who dwelleth in Annu

¹ *I.e.*, the "divine lower region," or the underworld.

² *I.e.*, the "hidden" place, or the underworld. The Bull is Osiris.

³ *I.e.*, Thoth provided him with certain words, and with instructions as to their utterance, which enabled Osiris, and therefore every just man, to pass the ordeal of judgment, and to gain everlasting life, and to make every being to perform what he ordered him to do.

⁴ *I.e.*, the day of judgment.

"(Heliopolis). I am Tēttēti, the son of Tēttēti; (14) I "was begotten in Tattu, I was born in (15) Tattu.¹ I "am with those who weep and with the women who "bewail (16) Osiris in the two lands of the Rekht,² and "I make Osiris to be victorious over his enemies. "(17) Rā commanded Thoth to make Osiris victorious "over his enemies; and that which was decreed [for "Osiris] (18) Thoth did for me. I am with Horus on "the day of the clothing of (19) Teshtesh³ and of the "opening of the wells of water for the purification of "the divine being whose heart moveth not,⁴ (20) and "of the drawing the bolt of the door of the concealed "things in Re-stau.⁵ I am with Horus who [acteth] "(21) as the guardian of the left shoulder of Osiris in "Sekhem (Letopolis),⁶ (22) and I go in and I come forth "from among the divine flames on the day of the "destruction of the (23) Sebāu fiends in Sekhem. I "am with Horus on the days (24) of the festivals of "Osiris, and of the making of offerings on the Sixth "day festival,⁷ and on the Tenāt festival⁸ [which is "celebrated] in (25) Annu.

¹ *I.e.*, Mendes.

² *I.e.*, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys.

³ *I.e.*, the figure of Osiris upon which the funeral ceremonies were performed at Abydos, Mendes, &c.

⁴ *Urt-ab, i.e.*, "Still-Heart," a name of Osiris.

⁵ *I.e.*, the "door of the passages" of the tomb. For the picture of Re-stau see p. 96.

⁶ The shrine at Sekhem boasted the possession of the shoulder of Osiris.

⁷ *I.e.*, the day of the festival of Osiris.

⁸ *I.e.*, the festival which took place on the seventh day of the month.

"I am the *āb*¹ priest who poureth out libations in
 "Tattu [for] Rere (?) the dweller in the Temple of
 "Osiris,² [on the day of] (26) casting up the earth. I
 "see the things which are concealed in Re-stau, (27) I
 "read from the book of the festival of the divine Ram³
 "[which is] in Tattu. I am the *Sem*⁴ priest (28) [and
 "I perform] his course. I [perform the duties of] the
 "Great Chief of the Work⁵ on the day of placing the
 "*Hennu*⁶ boat (29) of the god Seker⁷ upon its sledge.
 "I have grasped the spade (30) on the day of digging
 "the ground in Suten-henen (Heracleopolis Magna)."

"O ye who make perfected souls (31) to enter into
 "the Temple of Osiris, may ye cause the perfected soul
 "of Osiris, the (32) scribe Ani, to be victorious with
 "you in the Temple of Osiris. May he hear as ye
 "hear; may he see (33) as ye see; may he stand as ye
 "stand; may he sit as ye (34) sit [therein]."

"O ye who give cakes and ale to perfected souls in
 "the Temple (35) of Osiris, give ye cakes and ale at
 "the two seasons (*i.e.*, at morn and at eve, or sunrise
 "and sunset) to the soul of Osiris Ani, who is

¹ *I.e.*, the priest who performs ceremonial purification with water.

² Per-Asar, *i.e.*, "House of Osiris" = the Greek Busiris, or capital of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt.

³ *I.e.*, Osiris as Ba-neb-Tattu, the "Ram, lord of Mendes."

⁴ The functions of this priest in funeral ceremonies were very important.

⁵ The official title of the chief priest of Ptah, the great god of Memphis.

⁶ The *Hennu* boat was placed upon its sledge and drawn round the sanctuary at dawn, probably in imitation of the sun's course.

⁷ A name given to Osiris, having reference to the god being shut up in his coffin.

"(36) victorious before all the gods of Ābṭu (Abydos),
"and who is victorious with you."

"O ye who open the way (37) and lay open the paths
"to perfected souls in the Temple (38) of Osiris, open
"ye the way and lay open the paths (39) to the soul of
"Osiris, the scribe and steward of all the divine
"offerings, Ani [who is victorious] (40) with you.
"May he enter in confidence, and may he come forth in
"peace from the Temple of Osiris. May he not (41) be
"rejected, may he not be turned back, may he enter
"in [as he] pleaseth, may he come forth [as he]
"(42) desireth, and may he be victorious. May the
"things which he commandeth be performed in the
"Temple of Osiris; may he walk (43) and may he talk
"with you, and may he become a glorious being along
"with you. He hath not been found to rise up
"(44) there,¹ and the Balance [having weighed him] is
"now empty."

In the Turin papyrus this Chapter ends with the following lines, for which no equivalent occurs in the earlier texts:—(16) "Let not the decree of judgment
"passed upon me be placed," or, according to another
"reading, "made known in the mouths of the multitude.
"May my soul lift itself up before (17) [Osiris], having
"been found to have been pure when on earth. May I
"come before thee, O lord of the gods; may I arrive at

¹ *I.e.*, in the Balance. The meaning is that the heart, or conscience, of the deceased has not been outweighed by the emblem of right and truth.


"the nome of Double Right and Truth; may I be
 "crowned¹ like a god endowed with life; may I give
 "forth light like the company of the gods who dwell in
 "heaven; may I become (18) like one of you, lifting
 "up [my] feet in the city of Kher-āhaut;² may I see
 "the *Sekfet* boat of the sacred Sahu³ passing forth
 "over the sky; may I not be driven away from the
 "sight of the lords of the Tuat"⁴ (19) or, according to
 another reading, "the company of the gods; may I
 "smell the sweet savour of the food of the company of
 "the gods, and may I sit down with them. May the
 "Kher-heb (*i.e.*, the Reader)⁵ make invocation at [my]
 "coffin, and may I hear the prayers which are recited
 "[when] the offerings [are made]. May I draw nigh
 "(20) unto the *Neshem*⁶ boat and may neither my
 "soul nor its lord be turned back."

"Homage to thee, O thou who art at the head of
 "Āmentet, thou Osiris who dwellest in the city of
 "Nifu-ur.⁷ Grant thou that I may arrive in peace in
 "Āmentet and that the lords of Ta-tchesertet⁸ may
 "receive me and may (21) say unto me, 'Hail! Hail,

¹ Or, "may I rise."

² A city near Memphis.

³ *I.e.*, Orion.

⁴ The three divisions  *pet ta tuat* into which the Egyptians divided the world correspond roughly to the words, "heaven, earth, and hell."

⁵ Literally, "he that hath the book."

⁶ A name given to the sacred boat of the Sun-God; the word *neshem* means "light green," and is commonly applied to green felspar.

⁷ The metropolis of the nome of Ābtu (Abydos).

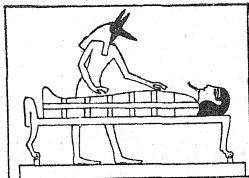
⁸ *I.e.*, the "holy land," a name of the underworld.

"[thou that comest] in peace!' May they prepare for
"me a place by the side of the Chief in the presence of
"divine chiefs; may Isis and Nephthys, the two divine
"nursing goddesses, receive me at the seasons, and
"may I come forth (22) into the presence of Un-nefer
"(*i.e.*, Osiris) in triumph. May I follow after Horus
"through Re-statet, and after Osiris in Tatttu; and
"may I perform all the transformations according to
"my heart's desire in every place wheresoever my *ka*
"(double) pleaseth so to do."

RUBRIC: If this text be known [by the deceased] upon
earth, (23) or if he causeth it to be done in writing upon
[his] coffin, then will he be able to come forth on any day
that he pleaseth, and to enter into his habitation without
being driven back. The cakes, and ale, and haunches of
meat (24) which are upon the altar of Rā shall be given
unto him, and his homestead shall be among the fields in
the Sekhet-Āanru, and to him shall be given wheat and
barley therein, for he shall be vigorous there even as he
was upon earth.

CHAPTER IB.


[From the Papyrus of Nekhtu-Āmen (Naviile, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I. Bl. 5).]



Vignette: The god Anubis, jackal-headed, standing by the side of the bier on which lies the mummy.

Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SĀHU¹ TO ENTER INTO THE TUAT (*i.e.*, UNDERWORLD) ON THE DAY OF THE FUNERAL (2) WHEN THESE WORDS ARE TO BE SAID :—

“Homage to thee, O thou that dwellest in Set-Tchesert² of Āmentet: (3) Osiris, the royal scribe

¹ Sāhu ————  means a body which has attained to a degree of knowledge and power and glory, whereby it becomes henceforth lasting and incorruptible. It could hold converse with the soul, and could ascend into heaven and dwell with the beatified. The Sāhu, or spiritual body, sprang from the material body through the prayers which were said, and the ceremonies which were performed at the tomb, or elsewhere, by duly appointed and properly qualified priests.

² *i.e.*, the Holy Mountain.

"Nekhtu-Āmen, victorious, knoweth thee, (4) and he
"knoweth thy name. Deliver thou him from the
"worms (5) which are in Re-stau, which live upon the
"bodies of men and women and (6) which feed upon
"their blood, for Osiris, the favoured one of the god of
"his city, (7) the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Āmen, victori-
"ous, knoweth you, and he knoweth your names.
" [Let this be] the first bidding of Osiris Neb-er-tcher¹
"(8) who keepeth hidden his body. May he give air
"[and escape] from the Terrible One who dwelleth in
"the Bight² of the Stream of Āmentet, and may he
"decree (9) the actions of him that is rising up. Let
"him pass on unto him whose throne is within the
"darkness, who giveth glory in Re-stau. (10) O lord
"of light, come thou and swallow up the worms
"which are in Āmentet. The great god who dwelleth
"in Tattu, (11) and who is unseen, heareth his prayers,
"but those who are in affliction fear him as he cometh
"forth (12) with the sentence to the divine block. I
"Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Āmen, have come
"bearing the decree of (13) Neb-er-tcher, and Horus
"hath taken possession of his throne for him. His
"father, the lord of those who are (14) in the boat of
"father Horus, hath ascribed praise unto him. He
"cometh with tidings . . . and may he see (15) Ānnu
"(Heliopolis). Their chief standeth upon the earth

¹ *I.e.*, Osiris, reconstructed and complete, the "lord of whole-ness."

² According to Chapter XVII., line 46, the Terrible One is the "heart of Osiris, which is the devourer of all slaughtered things."

"before him, and the scribes magnify him at the door
"of their assemblies, (16) and they bind his swathings
"in Ännu. He hath led captive heaven, and he hath
"seized the earth in [his] grasp. Neither the heavens
"nor the earth (17) can be taken away from him, for
"behold, he is Rā, the first-born of the gods. His
"mother suckleth him and she giveth [to him] her
"breast (18) in the horizon."

RUBRIC: The words of this chapter are to be recited after [the deceased] is laid to rest in Ämentet, whereby the region Tanenet is made to be content with her lord. Then shall Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Ämen, triumphant, come forth, (19) and he shall embark in the boat of Rā, and [his] body upon its bier shall be counted [with those therein], and he shall be established in the Tuat (underworld).

CHAPTER II.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 18).]

Vignette: A man, standing upright, holding a staff.

Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF LIVING AFTER DEATH. Saith Osiris Ani, victorious:—

"Hail, One, shining from the Moon! (2) Hail, One, shining from the Moon! Grant that this Osiris Ani may come forth among those multitudes which are

“(3) outside; and let him be established as a dweller
“(or let him go about) among the denizens of heaven;
“and let the underworld be opened unto him. And
“behold, Osiris, (4) Osiris Ani, shall come forth by day
“to do whatsoever he pleaseth upon the earth among
“the living ones.”

CHAPTER III.

[From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 13).]

Vignette: This Chapter has no vignette.

Text: (1) ANOTHER CHAPTER LIKE UNTO THE
PRECEDING. The overseer of the house of the over-
seer of the seal, Nu, triumphant, saith:— (2)

“Hail, thou god Tem, who comest forth from the
“Great Deep,¹ and who shinest with glory under the
“form of the double Lion-god,² send out with might
“thy words unto those who are in thy presence, (3) and
“let the overseer of the house of the overseer of the
“seal, Nu, triumphant, enter into their assembly. He
“hath performed the decree which hath been spoken to
“the mariners of Rā at eventide, (4) and the Osiris
“Nu, triumphant, liveth after he hath died, even as

¹ I.e., the celestial Nile.

² I.e., the god Shu and the goddess Tefnut.

"doth Rā day by day As Rā is born from
"(5) yesterday even so shall the Osiris Nu be born
"[from yesterday], and every god shall rejoice at the
"life of the Osiris Nu, even as they rejoice at (6) the
"life of Ptaḥ when he maketh his appearance from the
"great Temple¹ of the Aged One which is in Ānnu."

CHAPTER IV.

[From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 19).]

Vignette : This Chapter has no vignette.

Text : (1) THE CHAPTER OF PASSING OVER THE
CELESTIAL ROAD (2) OF RE-STAU. The overseer of the
house of the overseer of the seal, the Osiris Nu,
triumphant, saith :—

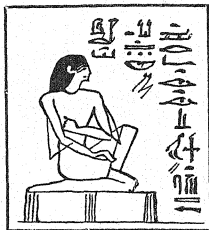
"I open out a way over the watery abyss which
"formeth a path between the two Combatants² and I
"have come; may the fields of Osiris be given over
"into my power."

¹ I.e., the temple of Rā at Heliopolis.

² I.e., Horus and Set. Horus engaged in battle with Set, his father's murderer, and after a prolonged fight which lasted three days, vanquished his opponent. Set threw filth at Horus, but Horus destroyed the members of Set; see Chapter XVII., ll. 67-69. As nature powers Horus and Set typified Light and Darkness respectively.

CHAPTER V.

[From the Papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus. No. 9900, sheet 11).]



Vignette : A seated man (see Papyrus of Sutesmes, plate 1.)

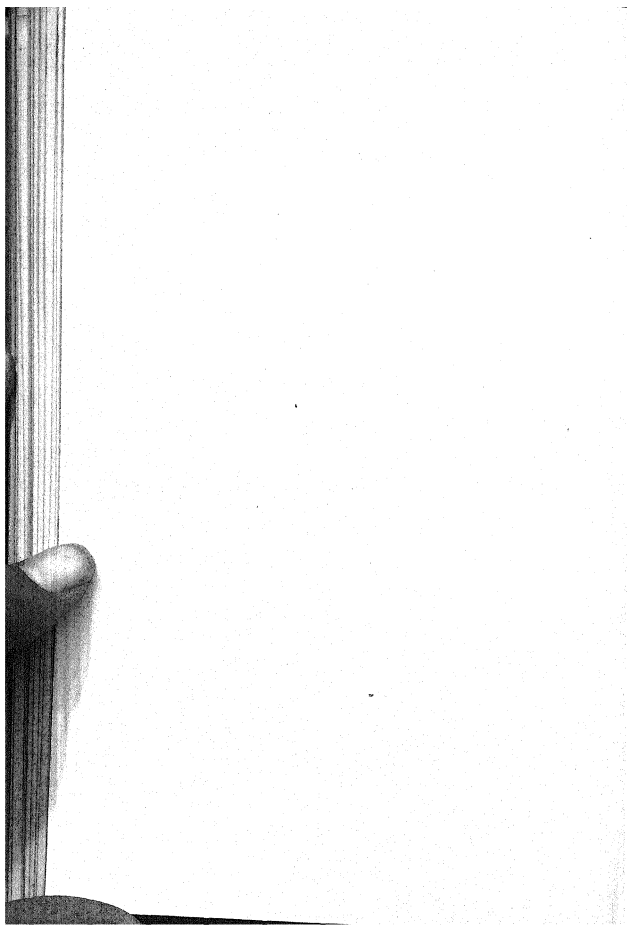
Text : (1) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING WORK BE DONE IN THE UNDERWORLD by Nebseni, the scribe and draughtsman in the Temple of Ptah, who saith :—

“I lift up the hand of the man who is inactive. I have come from the city of Unnu (Hermopolis). I am the divine Soul which liveth, and I lead with me the hearts of the apes.”¹

¹ I.e., the six apes which are seen adoring the Sun-god Rā when he rises; in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (see the vignette on p. 77) the apes (*ānketet*) are *seven* in number.

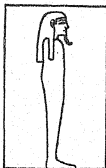


Text and Vignette from the Papyrus of Nebsemi (Brit. Mus., No. 9900).



CHAPTER VI.



[From the Papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus. No. 9900, sheet 10).]



Vignette : A standing, bearded male figure, or a man stretching out his hands to a god.

Text : (1) THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SHABTI¹ FIGURE TO DO WORK FOR A MAN IN THE UNDERWORLD. The scribe Nebseni, the draughtsman in the Temples (2) of the North and South, the man highly venerated in the Temple of Ptah, saith :—

“O thou *shabti* figure (3) of the scribe Nebseni, the “son of the scribe Thena, victorious, and of the lady of

¹ The original meaning of the word *shabti* is unknown, but at a comparatively late period the word was connected with the word *usheb*  , “to answer,” probably because the figure is supposed to answer the address of the deceased. Several forms of the Chapter are known, and the oldest seems to date from the VIth Dynasty; they are found on figures made of stone, wood, porcelain, &c., and all great collections of Egyptian antiquities contain hundreds of examples of them.

"the house Mutrestha, victorious, (4) if I be called, or
 "if I be adjudged to do any work whatsoever of the
 "labours which are to be done in the underworld—
 "behold, [for thee] opposition will there be (5) set
 "aside—by a man in his turn, let the judgment fall
 "upon thee instead of upon me always, in the matter
 "of sowing the fields, of filling (6) the water-courses
 "with water, and of bringing the sands of this east [to]
 "the west."

[The *shabti* figure answereth], "Verily I am here
 "[and will come] whithersoever thou biddest me."

CHAPTER VII.

[From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 22).]



Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent (see *Pap. Funéraire de Nebset*, ed. Pierret and Devéria, pl. 5).

Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF PASSING OVER THE
 ABOMINABLE BACK OF (2) APEP. The overseer of the

house of the overseer of the seal, Nu, triumphant, saith :—

“Hail, thou creature of wax,¹ who ledest away
“[victims] and destroyest them, and who livest upon
“the weak and helpless, may I never become weak and
“helpless (3) [before] thee, may I never suffer collapse
“[before] thee. And thy poison shall never enter into
“my members, for my members are [as] the members of
“the god Tem; and since thou thyself dost not suffer
“collapse [I shall not suffer collapse]. O let not the
“pains of death (4) which come upon thee enter into
“my members. I am the god Tem, and I am in the
“foremost part of Nu (*i.e.*, the sky), and the power
“which protecteth me is that which is with all the
“gods for ever. I am he whose name is hidden, and
“whose habitation is holy for millions of years. I am
“he who dwelleth therein (?) and I come forth along
“with the god Tem. I am he who shall not be
“condemned (?) ; I am strong, I am strong.”

¹ This address shows that the Chapter was said over a wax figure of a fiend, which was burnt in a fire during its recital; the fiend addressed is Āpep, and a figure of him was burnt to “prevent the coming on of storms.” See my *Egyptian Magic*, p. 81 ff.

CHAPTER VIII.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 18).]



Vignette : The emblem of Amentet, towards which Ani, clad in white and holding a staff in his left hand and a bandlet in the right, is walking.

Text : (1) THE CHAPTER OF PASSING THROUGH AMENTET [AND COMING FORTH] BY DAY. Saith Osiris Ani :—

“The city of Unnu (Hermopolis) is opened. My head (2) is sealed up, O Thoth, and strong is the Eye of Horus. I have delivered the Eye of Horus which shineth with splendours on the forehead of Rā, (3) the father of the gods. I am the same Osiris, the dweller in Amentet. Osiris knoweth his day, and that he shall live through his period of life; and shall not I do likewise? (4) I am the Moon-god, who dwelleth among the gods, I shall not perish. Stand up, therefore, O Horus, for [Osiris] hath reckoned thee among the gods.”

CHAPTER IX.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470; sheet 18).]



Vignette : A ram having upon his head the *Atef* crown standing upon a pylon-shaped pedestal, which rests on a green reed-mat; before him is an altar upon which stand a libation vase and a lotus flower. The scribe Ani, clothed in white, stands with both hands raised in adoration.

Text : (1) THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AFTER HAVING MADE THE PASSAGE THROUGH THE TOMB. Saith Osiris Ani:—

“Hail Soul, thou mighty one of strength! (2) Verily “I am here, I have come, I behold thee. I have “passed through the *Tuat* (underworld), I have seen “(3) [my] divine father Osiris, I have scattered the “gloom of night. I am his beloved one. I have “come; I have seen my divine father Osiris. I have “stabbed the heart of Suti.¹ [I] have performed [all]

¹ Suti or Set, the personification of darkness, and the mighty antagonist of Horus, by whom he was slain.

"the ceremonies for my divine father Osiris, (5) I have
 "opened every way in heaven and in earth. I am the
 "son who loveth his father Osiris. (6) I have become
 "a *sūhu*,¹ I have become a *khu*,² I am furnished [with
 "what I need]. Hail, every god, hail every *khu*! I
 "have made a path [for myself, I] Osiris, the scribe
 "Ani, victorious."

CHAPTER X.³

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 18).]



Vignette : Ani, clad in white, spearing a serpent.

¹ I.e., the spiritual form of a man which has come into being through the prayers which have been said and the ceremonies which have been performed over his dead body.

² A shining or translucent, intangible casing or covering which the deceased possesses in the underworld; it is frequently depicted in the form of a mummy.

³ In the Salte Recension this Chapter is found twice, viz., as Chapters X. and XLVIII.; as there is no good reason why it should be Chapter XLVIII., it has been placed here.

Text: (1) ANOTHER CHAPTER [TO BE SAID] BY A MAN WHO COMETH FORTH BY DAY AGAINST HIS ENEMIES IN THE UNDERWORLD. [Saith Osiris Ani:—]

“I have divided the heavens, (2) I have cleft the horizon, I have traversed the earth, [following] upon his footsteps. The Mighty KHU taketh possession of me and carrieth me away, because, behold, (3) I am provided with his magical words for millions of years. I eat with my mouth, I crush my food with my jawbones. (4) Behold, I am the god who is the lord of the T̄uat (underworld); may there be given unto me, Osiris Ani, these things in perpetuity without fail or lessening.”

CHAPTER XI.¹

[From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 21).]

Vignette: This Chapter is without a vignette in both the Theban and Saïte Recensions.

Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF [A MAN] COMING FORTH AGAINST HIS ENEMIES IN THE UNDERWORLD. The overseer of the house of the overseer of the seal, Nu, triumphant, saith:— (2)

“O thou god who eatest thine arm,² I have departed from thy road. I am Rā, and I have come forth

¹ In the Saïte Recension this Chapter is found twice, viz., as Chapters XI. and XLIX.; as there is no good reason why it should be Chapter XLIX., it has been placed here.

² This Chapter is addressed either to Āpep, or to one of his fiends.

“from the horizon against my enemies, and he hath granted to me that they shall not escape (3) from me. I have made an offering, and my hand is like that of the lord of the *Ureret* crown. I have lifted up my feet even as the uraei goddesses rise up. My overthrow shall not be accomplished, (4) and as for mine enemy he hath been given over into my power and he shall not be delivered from me. I shall stand up like Horus, and I shall sit down like Ptah, and I shall be mighty like Thoth, (5) and I shall be strong like Tem. I shall, therefore, walk with my legs, I shall speak with my mouth, I shall go round about in quest of mine enemy, and [as] he hath been delivered over to me he shall not escape from me.”

CHAPTER XII.¹

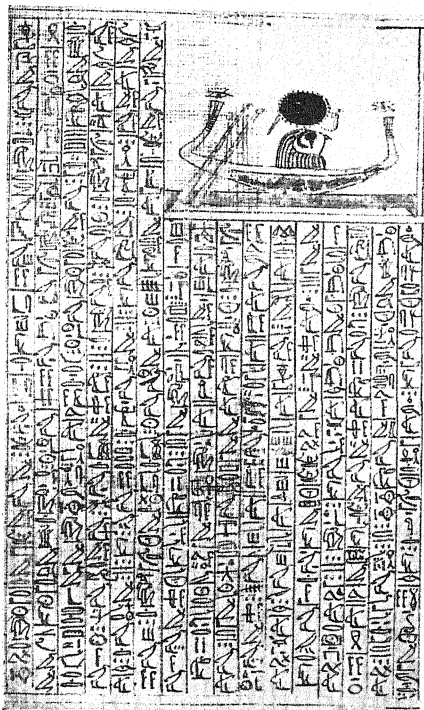
[From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 9).]

Vignette: This Chapter is without a vignette in both the Theban and Saïte Recensions.

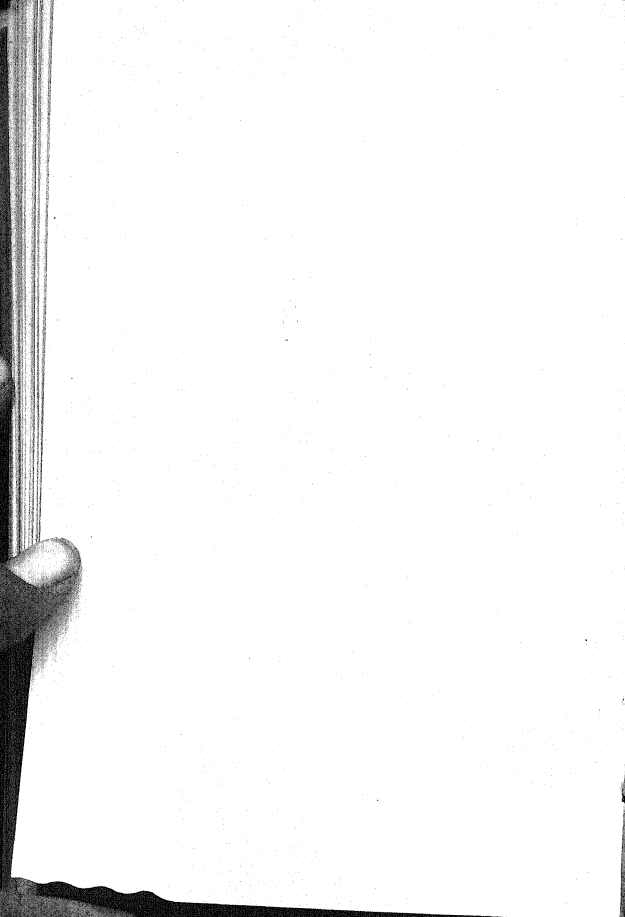
Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF GOING INTO AND OF COMING FORTH FROM [THE UNDERWORLD]. The Osiris Nu, triumphant, saith:—

“Hymns of praise to thee, O Rā! thou keeper (?) of “secret (2) gates which are on the brow of the god

¹ In the Saïte Recension this Chapter is found twice, viz., as Chapters XII. and CXX.; as there is no good reason why it should be Chapter CXX., it has been placed here.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIITH DYNASTY.

Text and Vignette from the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus., No. 10,477).



"Seb,¹ by the side of the Balance of Rā, wherein he lifteth
 "up Right and Truth (Maāt) (3) day by day. In very
 "truth I have burst through the earth,² grant [thou]
 "unto me that I may go forward and arrive at the
 "state of old age."

CHAPTER XIII.³

[From the Papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus. No. 9900, sheet 12).]

Vignette : This Chapter is without a vignette in both the Theban and Saïte Recensions.

Text : [THE CHAPTER OF ENTERING INTO AND OF COMING FORTH FROM ĀMENTET].

[Osiris, the scribe Nebseni, victorious, saith :—]

".....mortals I go in like the
 "Hawk and I come forth like the *Bennu* bird, the
 "morning star (?) of Rā. May a path be made for me
 "whereby I may enter in peace into the beautiful
 "Āmentet; and may I be by the Lake of Horus; [and
 "may I lead the greyhounds of Horus]; and may a path

¹ *I.e.*, the Earth-god, in whose domain the body of the deceased was laid after death.

² The allusion is to the freedom to come and to go in the underworld which the deceased enjoys through the religious texts which he knows.

³ In the Saïte Recension this Chapter is found twice, viz., as Chapters XIII. and CXXI.; as there is no good reason why it should be Chapter CXXI., it has been placed here.

"be made for me whereby I may enter in and adore
 "[Osiris, the lord of Life]."

In the Theban Recension this Chapter appears without a rubric, but in the Saïte Recension as given in the Turin Papyrus (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bll. 4 and 45) we have the following:—

RUBRIC: [This Chapter] is to be recited over a ring [made] of *ānkham* flowers, which shall be laid on the right ear of the *khu*, together with another ring wrapped up in a strip of byssus cloth, whereon the name of Osiris, *Auf-ānk*, victorious, born of the Lady Shert-āmsu, victorious, shall be done [in writing] on the day of sepulture.

CHAPTER XIV.

[From the Papyrus of Mes-em-neter (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I. Bl. 13).]

Vignette: This Chapter has no vignette either in the Theban or in the Saïte Recension.

Text: (1) THE CHAPTER OF PUTTING AN END TO ANY SHAME THAT MAY BE IN THE HEART OF THE GOD for the chief deputy of Amen, [the scribe] Mes-em-neter, victorious, [who saith:—]

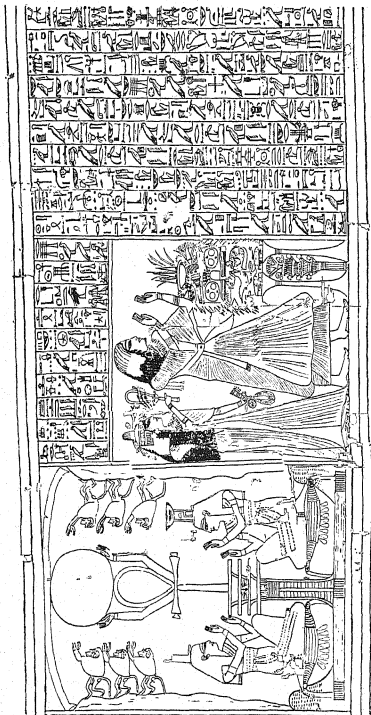
"Hymns of praise to thee, O thou god who makest
 "the moment to advance, (2) thou dweller among
 "mysteries of every kind, thou guardian of the word
 "which I speak. Behold, the god hath shame of me,
 "but let my faults be washed away and let them fall
 "(3) upon both hands of the god of Right and Truth.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIITH DYNASTY.



Text from the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus., No. 10,470).

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.



Text and Vignettes from the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus., No. 10,470).

"Do away utterly with the transgression which is in
 "me, together with [my] wickedness and sinfulness, O
 "god of Right and Truth. May this god be at peace
 "with me! Do away utterly with the (4) obstacles
 "which are between thee and me. O thou to whom
 "offerings are made in the divine [city] of *Kenur*,¹ grant
 "thou that I may bring to thee the offerings which will
 "make peace [between thee and men] whereon thou
 "livest, and that I also may live thereon. Be thou at
 "peace (5) with me and do away utterly with all the
 "shame of me which thou hast in thy heart because
 "of me."

CHAPTER XV.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheets 18 and 19).]



Vignette : Ani standing, with both hands raised in adoration, before Ra, hawk-headed, and seated in a boat floating upon

¹ The variants of this name are "*Kemur*" and "*Qer-ar*" (see Naville, *op. cit.*, Bd. II. p. 21).


the sky. On a platform in the bows sits the god Ḥeru-pa-khrat¹ with his right hand raised to his mouth, which he touches with one finger; the side of the boat is ornamented with feathers of Maat and with an *Utchat*.² The handles of the oars and the tops of the rowlocks are in the form of hawks' heads, and on the blades of the oars are *Utchats*.

Text: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE RISETH UPON THE HORIZON, AND WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE LAND OF LIFE. Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:—

“Homage to thee, (2) O Rā, when thou risest [as] “Tem-Ḥeru-khuti.³ Thou art adored [by me when] “thy beauties are before mine eyes, and [when thy] “(3) radiance [falleth] upon [my] body. Thou goest “forth to thy setting in the *Sektet* boat with [fair] “winds, and thy heart is glad; the (4) heart of the “*Mātet*⁴ boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens “in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the never “resting stars (5) sing hymns of praise unto thee, and “the stars which rest, and the stars which never fail “glorify thee as thou (6) sinkest to rest in the horizon “of Manu,⁵ O thou who art beautiful at morn and at “eve, O thou lord who livest and art established, O “my lord!

“Homage to thee, O thou who art Rā when thou

¹ I.e., “Horus the Child,” the Harpocrates of the Greeks.

² The two *Utchats*, , represent the Sun and the Moon, and also the two halves of the Sun's orbit.

³ I.e., Tem-Harmachis, a double god who united within himself the attributes of the night and the early morning suns.

⁴ The name of the morning boat of the sun.

⁵ I.e., the mountain of sunset.

"risest, and (7) Tem when thou settest [in] beauty.
 "Thou risest and shinest on the back of thy mother
 "[Nut], O thou who art crowned king (8) of the gods!
 "Nut doeth homage unto thee, and everlasting and
 "never-changing order¹ embraceth thee at morn and at
 "eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of
 "heart, and the Lake of Testes² (9) is content [thereat].
 "The Sebāu Fiend hath fallen to the ground; his arms
 "and his hands have been hacked off, and the knife hath
 "severed the joints of his body. Rā hath a fair wind
 "(10); the *Sektet* boat goeth forth and sailing along it
 "cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the
 "north, of the west and of the east, praise (11) thee, O
 "thou divine substance, from whom all forms of life
 "come into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and
 "the earth is flooded with silence, O thou only One,
 "who didst dwell in heaven before ever the earth and
 "the mountains came into existence. (12) O Runner,
 "O Lord, O only One, thou maker of things which are,
 "thou hast fashioned the tongue of the company of the
 "gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth
 "from the waters, and thou springest up from them
 "over the flooded land of the Lake of Horus. (13) Let
 "me snuff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils,
 "and the north wind which cometh forth from thy
 "mother [Nut]. O make thou to be glorious my
 "shining form (*khu*), O Osiris, (14) make thou to be

¹ I.e., Maāt.² A name of heaven, or of a part of it.

“divine my soul (*ba*)! Thou art worshipped [in] peace
 “(*or* [in] setting), O lord of the gods, thou art exalted
 “by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine thou with
 “thy rays of light upon my body day by day (15) [upon
 “me], Osiris the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings
 “of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the
 “lords of Abtu (Abydos), the royal scribe in truth who
 “loveth thee; Ani, victorious in peace.”

CHAPTER XV.

Hymn and Litany to Osiris.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 19).]



Vignette : “Osiris Ani, the royal scribe in truth, who loveth
 “him, the scribe and teller of the divine offerings of all the
 “gods,” and “Osiris Thuthu, the lady of the house, the singing

"woman of Amen," with hands raised in adoration presumably before the god Osiris who, accompanied by the goddess Isis, stands in a shrine made in the form of a funeral chest.¹

Text: "Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, lord of
 "eternity, Un-nefer, Heru-Khuti (Harmachis), whose
 "forms are manifold, and whose attributes are majestic,
 "(2) Ptaḥ-Seker-Tem² in Annu (Heliopolis), the lord
 "of the hidden place, and the creator of Het-ka-Ptaḥ³
 "and of the gods [therein], the guide of the underworld,
 "(3) whom [the gods] glorify when thou settest in Nut.
 "Isis embraceth thee in peace, and she driveth away
 "the fiends from the (4) mouth of thy paths. Thou
 "turnest thy face upon Amentet, and thou makest the
 "earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who
 "have lain down (*i.e.*, the dead) rise up to see thee,
 "they (5) breathe the air and they look upon thy face
 "when the disk riseth on its horizon; their hearts are
 "at peace inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who
 "art Eternity and Everlastingness!"

LITANY.

(1) *Petition*.—"Homage to thee, [O lord of] starry
 "deities in Annu, and of heavenly beings in Kher-āḥa ;

¹ The shrine of Osiris is separated from the figures of Ani and his wife by the Litany and several lines of a hymn to Rā; this portion of the vignette is given on p. 71.

² A triad composed of forms of the morning, evening, and night suns.

³ *I.e.*, the House of the *ka* of Ptaḥ, a name of Memphis.

"thou god Unti,¹ who art more glorious than the gods
"who are hidden in Ännu."

Response.—(10) "O grant² thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(2) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O Än in Äntes (?),
"Heru-khuti (Harmachis), with long strides thou
"stridest over heaven, O Heru-khuti."

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(3) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O Soul of everlast-
"ingness, thou Soul that dwellest in Taṭṭu, Un-nefer,
"son of Nut ; thou art lord of Äkert."

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(4) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee in thy dominion
"over Taṭṭu ; the Ureret crown is established upon thy
"head ; thou art the One who maketh the strength

¹ A god who is represented holding a star in each hand, and walking before a solar bark.

² The following petition, "O grant thou unto me a path," &c., is written once only, and at the end of the Litany, but it was clearly intended to be repeated after each of the nine addresses. This is proved by the Saite Recension (see Lepsius, *op. cit.*, Bl. 5), where the words, "Grant thou the sweet breath of the north wind to the Osiris Äuf-änkh" are written in two places, and are intended to be said after each of the ten addresses above them.

"which protecteth himself, and thou dwellest in peace
"in Taṭṭu."

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(5) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O lord of the Acacia
"Tree, the *Seker* boat is set upon its sledge; thou
"turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou
"causest the *Utchat* to rest upon its seat."

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(6) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O thou who art
"mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty Prince,
"dweller in An-rut-f,¹ lord of eternity and creator of ever-
"lastingness, thou art the lord of Suten-henen."²

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
"whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
"I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
"aught with deceit."

(7) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O thou who retest

¹ *I.e.*, "the place where nothing groweth," the name of a district in the underworld.

² *I.e.*, Heracleopolis Magna, the capital of the Heracleopolites nome. Egyptian mythology declares that here Osiris was first crowned, that here Horus succeeded to the rank and dignity of his father, that here the sky was first separated from the earth, and that from this place Sekhet set out on her mission to destroy mankind because they had rebelled against Rā, who, they declared, had become old and incapable of ruling them rightly.

"upon Right and Truth, thou art the lord of Ábtu
 "(Abydos), and thy limbs are joined unto Ta-tchesertet ;
 "thou art he to whom fraud and guile are hateful."

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
 "whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
 "I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
 "aught with deceit."

(8) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O thou who art
 "within thy boat, thou bringest Hāpi (*i.e.*, the Nile)
 "forth from his source ; the light shineth upon thy body
 "and thou art the dweller in Nekhen."¹

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
 "whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
 "I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
 "aught with deceit."

(9) *Petition.*—"Homage to thee, O creator of the
 "gods, thou King of the North and of the South, O
 "Osiris, victorious one, ruler of the world in thy
 "gracious seasons ; thou art the lord of the celestial
 "world."²

Response.—(10) "O grant thou unto me a path
 "whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true ;
 "I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done
 "aught with deceit."

¹ The name of the sanctuary of the goddess Nekhebet in Upper Egypt, the Eileithyriapolis of the Greeks.

² *I.e.*, the two lands *Afebut* which were situated one on each side of the celestial Nile.

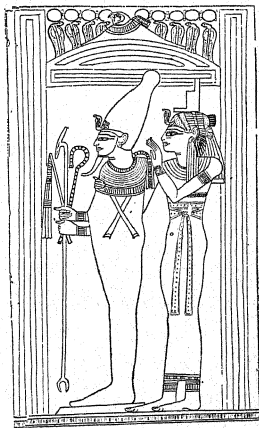
Hymn to Rā.

[From the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus. No. 10,470, sheet 20).]

Vignette : Osiris, wearing the white crown and holding the crook, whip, and sceptre, standing in a shrine; behind him is the goddess Isis in the character of the Divine Mother.

Text : (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RĀ WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Those who are in his train (2) rejoice, and lo! Osiris Ani victorious, saith :—

“Hail, thou Disk,
 “thou lord of rays,
 “(3) who risest on
 “the horizon day by
 “day! Shine thou
 “with thy beams
 “of light upon the
 “face of Osiris Ani,
 “who is victorious;
 “for he singeth
 “hymns of praise
 “unto thee at (4)
 “dawn, and he
 “maketh thee to set
 “at eventide with
 “words of adora-
 “tion. May the
 “soul of Osiris Ani, the triumphant one, come forth



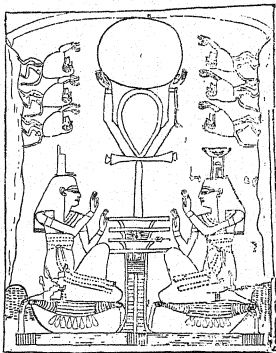
"(5) with thee into heaven, may he go forth in the *Mātet* "boat. May he come into port in the *Sektet* boat, and "may he cleave his path among the never (6) resting "stars in the heavens."


Osiris Ani, being in peace and in triumph, adoreth his lord, (7) the lord of eternity, saying: "Homage to thee, "O Heru-khuti (Harmachis), who art the god Kheperá, "the self-created; when thou risest on the (8) horizon "and sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of "the North and of the South, thou art beautiful, yea "beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold "thee, (9) the King of heaven. The goddess Nebt- "Unnut¹ is stablished upon thy head; and her uræi "of the South and of the North are upon thy brow; "(10) she taketh up her place before thee. The god "Thoth is stablished in the bows of thy boat to destroy "utterly all thy foes. (11) Those who are in the Tuat "(underworld) come forth to meet thee, and they bow "in homage as they come towards thee, to behold [thy] "(12) beautiful Image. And I have come before thee "that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk every "day. May I not be shut up in [the tomb], may I not "be (13) turned back, may the limbs of my body be "made new again when I view thy beauties, even as "[are those of] all thy favoured ones, (14) because I "am one of those who worshipped thee [whilst I lived] "upon earth. May I come in unto the land of eternity,

¹ A name meaning something like the "lady of the hour."

"may I come even (15) unto the everlasting land, for
 "behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained for me."

And lo, Osiris Ani triumphant in peace, the triumphant one, saith : (16) "Homage to thee, O thou who
 "risest in thy horizon as Rā, thou reposest upon law



THE SUNRISE. The Tet, , or tree-trunk which held the body of Osiris, standing between Isis and Nephthys, who kneel in adoration, one on each side of it. From the Tet proceeds the emblem of life, which has arms that support the Disk of the Sun. The six apes represent the spirits of the dawn.
 (This scene is from the Papyrus of Ani, plate 2.)

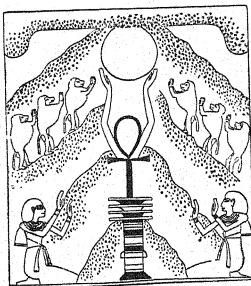
"[which changeth not nor can it be altered]. Thou
 "passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee
 "(17) and thy course, for thou hast been hidden from
 "their gaze. Thou dost shew thyself at dawn and at

“eventide day by day. (18) The *Sektet* boat, wherein
 “is thy Majesty, goeth forth with might; thy beams
 “[shine] upon [all] faces; [the number] of thy red and
 “yellow rays cannot be known, nor can thy bright (19)
 “beams be depicted. The lands of the gods, and the
 “eastern lands of Punt¹ must be seen before they can
 “be described and before that which is hidden (20)
 “[in thee] may be measured. Alone and by thy-
 “self thou dost manifest thyself [when] thou comest
 “into being above Nu (*i.e.*, the sky). May Ani (21)
 “advance, even as thou dost advance; may he never
 “cease [to go forward], even as thy Majesty ceaseth not
 “[to go forward], even though it be for a moment; for
 “with strides dost thou (22) in one little moment pass
 “over the spaces which would need hundreds of thou-
 “sands and millions of years [for man to pass over;
 “this] thou doest, and then dost thou sink to rest.
 “Thou (23) putteth an end to the hours of the night,
 “and thou dost count them, even thou; thou endest
 “them in thine own appointed season, and the earth
 “becometh light. (24) Thou setteth thyself before thy
 “handiwork in the likeness of Rā; thou risest in the
 “horizon.”

Osiris, the scribe Ani, victorious, declareth (25) his
 praise of thee when thou shinest, and when thou risest
 at dawn he crieth in his joy at thy birth: (26) “Thou
 “art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou



¹ *I.e.*, the spice-producing land near the most easterly part of Somali land.

"mouldest thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou
 "bringest them forth without birth-pangs in the form
 "of (27) Rā, as thou dost rise up into the upper air.
 "Grant thou that I may come unto the heaven which
 "is everlasting, and unto the mountain where dwell
 "thy favoured ones. May I be joined (28) unto those
 "shining beings, holy and perfect, who are in the
 "underworld; and may I come forth with them to



THE SUNRISE. (From the Papyrus of Qenna, plate 1.)

"behold thy beauties when thou shinest (29) at even-
 "tide and goest to thy mother Nut.¹ Thou dost place
 "thyself in the west, and my two hands are [raised] in
 "adoration [of thee] (30) when thou settest as a living
 "being. Behold, thou art the maker of eternity, and

¹ I.e., Nut, , the night sky, as opposed to , the day sky.

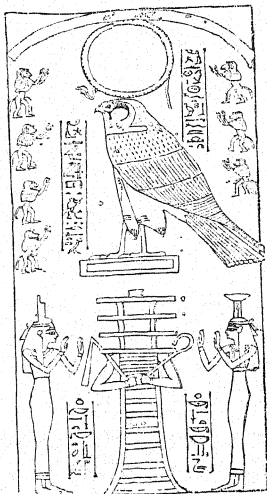
"thou art adored [when] thou settest in the heavens.
 "I have given my heart unto thee (31) without wavering, O thou who art mightier than the gods."

Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "A hymn of praise to
 "thee, O thou who risest (32) like unto gold, and who
 'dost flood the world with light on the day of thy birth.
 "Thy mother giveth thee birth upon [her] hand, and
 "thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk (33).
 "O thou great Light who shinest in the heavens, thou
 "dost strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-
 "flood, and thou dost cause gladness in all lands, and
 "in all cities (34), and in all the temples. Thou art
 "glorious by reason of thy splendours, and thou makest
 "strong thy KA (*i.e.*, Double), with *hu* and *tchefau*
 "foods.¹ O thou who art the mighty one of victories,
 "(35) thou who art the power of [all] Powers, who
 "dost make strong thy throne against evil fiends; who
 "art glorious in majesty in the *Sektet* boat, and who
 "art exceeding mighty (36) in the *Ātet* boat, make
 "thou glorious Osiris Ani with victory in the under-
 "world; grant thou that in the netherworld he may be
 "(37) without evil. I pray thee to put away [his]
 "faults behind thee: grant thou that he may be one of
 "thy venerable servants (38) who are with the shining
 "ones; may he be joined unto the souls which are in Ta-
 "tchesertet; and may he journey into the Sekhet-Āaru"

¹ *Hu* and *tchefau* are the celestial foods upon which the gods and the beatified live.

² The Field of lilies, reeds, and water plants, which formed one of the sections of the Sekhet-Īetepet, or "Elysian Fields."

"(39) by a prosperous and happy decree, he the Osiris,
"the scribe, Ani, triumphant."



THE SUNRISE. Horus-Rā, wearing a disk encircled by a serpent, and standing beneath the vaulted heaven, being adored by seven apes. The Tet below has human arms and hands, which grasp the symbols of power of Osiris; on the left stands Isis, the "divine mother," and on the right Nephthys.
(From the Papyrus of Hu-nefer, plate I.)

(And the god saith :—)

(40) "Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt

“pass over the sky, thou shalt be joined unto the starry
 “deities. Praises shall be offered (41) unto thee in
 “thy boat, thou shalt be hymned in the *Āfet* boat, (42)
 “thou shalt behold Rā within his shrine, thou shalt
 “set together with his Disk day by day, thou shalt
 “see (43) the *Ant*¹ fish when it springeth into being in
 “the waters of turquoise, and thou shalt see (44) the
 “*Abtu*¹ fish in his hour. It shall come to pass that the
 “Evil One shall fall when he layeth a snare to destroy
 “thee, (45) and the joints of his neck and of his back
 “shall be hacked asunder. Rā [saileth] with a fair
 “wind, and the *Sektet* boat draweth on (46) and cometh
 “into port. The mariners of Rā rejoice, and the heart
 “of Nebt-ānkh² is glad, (47) for the enemy of her lord
 “hath fallen to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus
 “on the standing place³ of the pilot of the boat, and
 “Thoth and Maāt shall stand one upon each side of
 “him. (48) All the gods shall rejoice when they
 “behold Rā coming in peace (49) to make the hearts of
 “the shining ones to live, and Osiris Ani, victorious,
 “the scribe of the divine offerings of the lord of Thebes,
 “shall be along with them!”

¹ See the first Introductory Hymn (ll. 15, 16, p. 6).

² *I.e.*, “Lady of life,” a name of Isis.

³ *I.e.*, the little platform in the bows of the boat on which the pilot stands or sits. In the Vignette to Chapter CXXXIII. it will be seen that some plaited object is hanging over the prow of the boat, and this I believe to represent a mat made of reeds and grass. The pilot of a Nile boat often has to sound the depth of the water under his boat, and this he does by means of a pole. As he lifts the pole out of the water, some drops fall on the place where he is standing, which eventually becomes wet and slippery; to secure a good foothold a reed-mat or layer of grass is thrown down, and I have seen a layer of sugar-canes also used as a mat.